**Golf** Ryder Cup

# Glory for Europe as the American dream fades

**David Davies**
**in Rochester, New York**

EUROPE, with a stunning success in the singles, won the Ryder Cup here on Sunday. Needing to win 7½ of the 12 singles, they managed exactly that, for victory by 14½ to 13½. It was only the second time the cup had been won by Europe in America, repeating the victory of 1987 when Jack Nicklaus's team were conquered at Muirfield Village.

It was a fantastic fighting performance, against the odds, and featured a stirring victory from Nick Faldo, who won the last two holes to beat Curtis Strange, and the grittiest of wins from Philip Walton, who held on from three up and three to play to win on the last.

Faldo fought the fight of his golfing life. Only once was he up, when Strange missed from a foot at the 5th, and the Englishman was down from the 11th, where Strange holed a 12-footer, to the 17th. There the American found the trees, Faldo a greenside bunker, but the latter came out to 10 feet, Strange missed from 12 feet and Faldo rolled home one of the most important putts he will ever face.

He still had to win the 18th, though, and he drove into the rough to deny himself any chance of the green in two. But Strange, going for it, fell short into thick rough and Faldo hit a wonderful pitch to four feet. The American came out to nine feet, missed and now Faldo had a chance to avenge Saturday's feverish fourball. He holed it, right in the middle, and Europe led, 13½ to 12½.

Now all depended on Walton, dormy three against Jay Haas. The American, knowing that he had to, holed a bunker shot at the 16th to win that hole. At the 17th Haas escaped from the trees to make an unlikely four and Walton, with a four-footer for an outright European win, pulled it.

But he played the last manfully. Despite a drive that leaked to the right, he almost made the green in two, leaving only a little chip, which he got to 12 feet. Haas, in the trees again, could not reach the green in two and his third hit the putting surface and spun back off. Walton, needing only a half, putted up dead, and the captain Bernard Gallacher led the race to engulf the Irishman. He was closely followed by the remainder of the team, their wives and sundry officials — and a mass outbreak of tears.

Severiano Ballesteros led the champagne squirters but there had been a sadness earlier in watching him in the first match out. For years he has played a game with which few people in the world have been familiar, a game of blinding brilliance, bespattered with birdies, besmirched, all too often, with bogeys, but all the time compelling.

On Sunday, though, he met the kind of course that would not give the margin of tolerance he needs and, furthermore, he met a player who was playing a game with which Ballesteros himself is unfamiliar. Tom Lehman hit almost every fairway, did hit every green in regulation and that simple golfing ability won him the game easily.

From the moment he whistled his first tee shot into the trees, Ballesteros, the man who more than any other has brought vibrant life to the Ryder Cup, was condemned to a long walk among the oaks.

His match finished at the short 15th and it was a miniature of what had gone before. Ballesteros missed the green long and left; Lehman was safely on. Ballesteros, faced with an almost impossible chip, miraculously got it to eight feet and then holed the putt. But Lehman was by now three feet away in two and he holed for the match.

Howard Clark was a contentious choice for second man out but, after being down or level most of the way, won the 16th when Peter Jacobsen, having driven into the rough, could find the green only some 80 feet from the hole. Three putts from there represented par. Clark then hit a huge drive at the 17th to set up a safe par; and at the last, having seen Jacobsen miss narrowly from 30 feet for a birdie, he holed from three feet above the hole for a par and the match.

Mark James would not have figured at three in most lists either but, although he confessed to being nervous all the way round, he was never troubled by Jeff Maggert, who was three down after six. Their match ended with Maggert, in the water at the short 15th, making a four nevertheless, and James holing from four feet for the win.

With two hours of the matches scheduled to run, Europe, up in seven and halving another, would have won if matters had come to a halt right there. But they had to go on, and soon Ian Woosnam was yet again not winning a cup singles. He was one up on the 16th tee but Fred Couples got that one back. Then Woosnam seemed certain to win the 18th when the American carved his tee shot wildly right, but he found a line through the trees good enough to get into the front greenside bunker and from there he blasted out to four feet. Woosnam, safely on in two, then sank to his knees, covered his eyes and visibly winced when his 30-foot birdie chance turned away at the last second. Couples holed for a halved match.

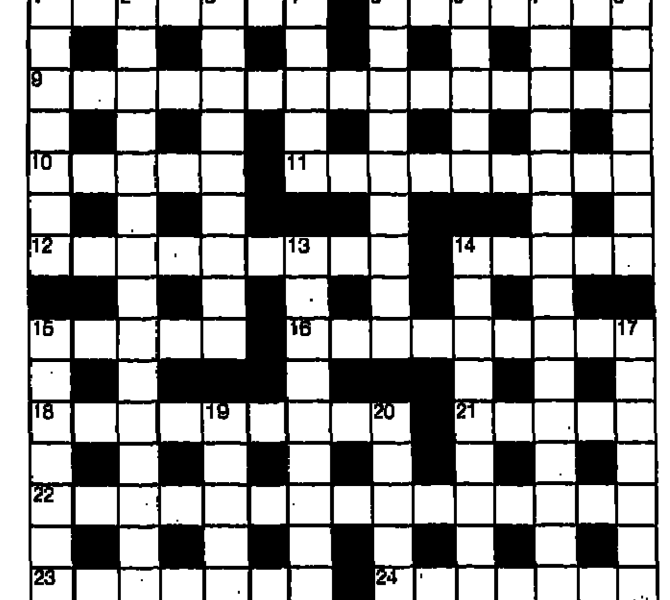
Costantino Rocca had the misfortune to draw Davis Love III again and maybe he tried too hard to reverse the defeat he brought upon himself at The Belfry in 1993 when he three-putted the 17th. He lost the 7th and 8th to go two down, the 10th and 11th to go four down and was obviously drained by his efforts earlier in the week.

David Gilford, who after Kiawah was not sure he ever wanted to play Ryder Cup golf again, has probably now been persuaded otherwise. His win over Brad Faxon made him 3-1 for the week, and what a win it was. One up playing the last Gilford missed the green with his second and then also, from six yards, with his third. His fourth ran 10 feet past and by now Faxon, bunkered in two, was only five feet away in three. Gilford had to hole, and did. Faxon had to miss, and did. The halved hole meant a European win.

Sam Torrance was never down to Loren Roberts and the kind of season the Scot has been having was reflected at the 16th where he holed a nasty nine-footer, a curler from left to right, to go two up with two to play. It was another European win.

Winning moment . . . Ireland's Philip Walton is embraced by team captain Bernard Gallacher after clinching victory PHOTO: MARK LENNIHAN

## Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



**Across**

1 Answer letters Queen Elizabeth I's upset about (7)
5 Percy's taken up short (7)
9 Lapidary moralisings show remissness not on (7,2,6)
10 First king of Israel turns to religion (5)
11 On motorway went out with unsuitable mate (9)
12 Academic first to confess love for sculptor (9)
14 Actress Richardson elevated into happiness (5)
15 Actress at Annan, a bird of few strokes (5)
16 Italian lady losing head at musical? One never knows (9)
18 Scene of movable feasts? Row involved racing (6-3)
21 King is returning for Cub Scout leader (5)
22 Lone Scotsman's tooth, an apocryphal work (6,2,7)
23 Couplet from the Inferno, a miniature (7)
24 In another sense I'm the Fall after Pride (7)

**Down**

1 I make our beds (4-3)
2 Two more than 15 across, the number for a Biblical book on the Virgin Birth? (15)
3 Novella developed to set rite (9)
4 Race town takes letters to order (5)
5 Bequeaths without using whip? (5,4)
6 Small person gets a pound for the lot (5)
7 Ancient religious leader, if old saw's in Mithridates' kingdom (8,7)
8 Cricketers' sabbath? (4,3)
13 Minimum wear to see in number, not willing (4-5)
14 Holy city of French setter at auction in spirit (9)
15 Having natural gifts, perhaps, finish in credit (7)
17 Orchestral attachment? (7)
19 I lament resurrection of Bible character (5)
20 Repeat the offence, by gum! (5)

**Last week's solution**

CHARLOCK OBTAIN
ILLUSORY LIMPET
CRETONNE LARRUP
ELUCIDATED
MENDACIOUS
ELAPSE BALINESE
TRILBY VIRTUOSI
LETTER VERONESE

## Football Results

**FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP:** Arsenal 4, Southampton 2; Aston Villa 1, Nottm Forest 1; Blackburn 5, Coventry 1; Liverpool 5, Bolton 2; Man City 0, Middlesbrough 1; Newcastle 2, Chelsea 0; Sheff Wed 0, Man Utd 0; West Ham 2, Everton 1; Wimbledon 2, Leeds 4. **Leading positions:** 1, Newcastle (played 7, points 18); 2, Man Utd (7-16); 3, Liverpool (7-15).

**ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division:** Barnsley 2, Derby 0; Grimsby 2, Norwich 2; Huddersfield 1, Sheff Utd 2; Ipswich 1, Charlton 5; Leicester 1, Southend 3; Millwall 1, Sunderland 2; Oldham 3, Crystal Palace 1; Portsmouth 0, Tranmere 2; Reading 2, Port Vale 2; Stoke 2, West Brom 1; Watford 1, Birmingham 1; Wolverhampton 0, Luton 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Leicester (9-17); 2, Millwall (9-17); 3, Barnsley (9-16).

**Second Division:** Blackpool 2, Crewe 1; Bristol R 2, Brentford 0; Bournemouth 3, Brighton 1; Carlisle 2, Hull 0; Chesterfield 4, Burnley 2; Notts County 2, Bristol C 2; Peterborough 3, Bradford 1; Shrewsbury 1, Stockport 2; Swansea 1, Oxford 1; Swindon 1, Rotherham 0; Wycombe 1, Wrexham 1; York 1, Walsall 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Swindon (9-23); 2, Blackpool (9-19); 3, Crewe (8-17).

**Third Division:** Bury 0, Barnet 0; Chester 1, Gillingham 1; Colchester 2, Hereford 0; Darlington 1, Scarborough 2; Doncaster 0, Rochdale 3; Exeter 2, Leyton Orient 2; Fulham 2, Preston 2; Hartlepool 2, Cardiff 1; Lincoln 1, Cambridge Utd 3; Mansfield 1, Scunthorpe 1; Torquay 3, Northampton 0; Wigan 0, Plymouth 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Chester (9-20); 2, Gillingham (9-18); 3, Cambridge Utd (9-16).

**BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division:** Falkirk 0, Motherwell 0; Hearts 0, Celtic 4; Kilmarnock 1, Aberdeen 2; Raith 3, Partick 1; Rangers 0, Hibernian 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Celtic (4-10); 2, Rangers (4-9); 3, Hibernian (4-8).

**First Division:** Dumbarton 1, Dundee 5; Dundee Utd 1, Airdrie 2; Greenock Morton 2, Dunfermline 0; Hamilton 2, St Mirren 2; St Johnstone 2, Clydebank 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Dunfermline (6-15); 2, Dundee (6-10); 3, Airdrie (6-10).

**Second Division:** Berwick 1, Forfar 0; Clyde 0, Stenhousemuir 1; E Fife 2, Queen of South 1; Montrose 0, Ayr 1; Stranraer 0, Stirling 0. **Leading positions:** 1, East Fife (6-15); 2, Berwick (6-13); 3, Forfar (6-12).

**Third Division:** Alloa 0, Caledonian T 5; Arbroath 2, E Stirling 2; Livingston 2, Albion 1; Queen's Pk 0, Brechin 2; Ross County 2, Cowdenbeath 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Livingston (6-16); 2, Brechin (6-15); 3, Ross County (6-13).

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The Washington Post Le Monde

Keeping hope alive . . . Rescue workers and relatives search for survivors of Sunday's earthquake in Dinar, south-west Turkey, in which more than 50 died and 150 were injured PHOTOGRAPH: BURHAN OZBILICI

# Court condemns Gibraltar killings

**Stephen Bates in Strasbourg, Owen Bowcott and Michael White**

THE British government reacted with dismay and anger to last week's humiliating ruling by the European Court of Human Rights that the shooting of three IRA bombers by members of the SAS in Gibraltar in 1988 involved the use of excessive force.

The unexpected decision, albeit by the narrowest of judicial margins, resharpened traditional hostilities in Northern Ireland and prompted calls from rightwing Tories for Britain to remove the right of individuals to petition the Strasbourg court.

Although the Government dismissed the ruling and insisted there was no need to change counter-terrorism tactics, the decision is likely to reinforce the security services' wariness in deploying the SAS in Britain and elsewhere in Europe.

The court was concerned on three specific counts. First, at the failure to prevent the suspects from travelling into Gibraltar when they could have been arrested at the border. Second, at the failure to allow for the possibility that the security services' intelligence — that there was a nearby car bomb which could be detonated by remote control — might be wrong, as it was. And third, that there was an automatic recourse to lethal force.

There had been few hints that the European Court judges would reverse the conclusions of the original Gibraltar inquest and the European Commission on Human Rights that the security services had acted within the law.

But by 10 votes to nine, the court of international judges sitting in Strasbourg decided Britain had breached Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights in shooting IRA members Daniel McCann, Sean Savage and Mairead Farrell in Gibraltar on March 6 1988. The three were suspected of having planted a car bomb.

The 60-page judgment cleared the British government under five other headings of alleged violations of the three IRA members' human rights. But it convicted the authorities — though not the soldiers who carried out the shootings — of not making enough effort to capture them alive.

The ruling led to bitter political exchanges which reflected a growing division between the Conservative right and Labour over European courts' increasingly influential role in landmark judicial decisions.

The European Court clearly identified one of the key issues left unresolved by earlier investigations — namely the nature of the briefings given to the SAS soldiers. That evidence had been suppressed by the Government, using Public Interest Immunity certificates.

● The Government suffered its second legal humiliation in 48 hours for its treatment of the IRA when a High Court judge said that ministers had flouted the European Convention on Human Rights.

Mr Justice Dyson's judgment declared that the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, has unlawfully delayed for six months the possible release of five of the longest-serving IRA prisoners in English jails.

Comment, page 10

# Anger at British silence over new French N-test

**Guardian Reporters**

FRANCE'S latest and largest nuclear test triggered international fury with Britain coming under fire from Commonwealth countries in the region and almost alone in Europe in refusing to condemn the blast.

In Paris a defiant prime minister, Alain Juppé, said the tests — up to six more are expected at the site in French Polynesia — would continue. The blast, the second of the series, was carried out at Fangataufa atoll early on Sunday. It was more than five times bigger than the first test at Mururoa.

New Zealand's prime minister, Jim Bolger, said: "New Zealanders are outraged that once again France is thumbing its nose at world opinion."

Challenging London to break its silence, Mr Bolger said: "I have no doubt that the Commonwealth will want to express strong condemnation of the tests by both France and China . . . I would hope that the British government . . . will join the Commonwealth heads in that resolution in condemning nuclear testing wherever it happens."

Australia said it was "disappointed" with Britain's stance.

Britain is trying hard to defuse the issue before next month's Commonwealth summit in Auckland.

Faced with this rising chorus of anger, Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, conceded that the protests were at least comprehensible. "Clearly it is a very important issue, it is a sensitive issue and we respect the fact that people feel strongly about it," he said at a meeting of European Union foreign ministers in Luxembourg.

A succinct defence of the British position was given by Mr Rifkind's predecessor, Douglas Hurd, in response to a constituent who wrote to him last month: "The reason why the British government is not protesting against the French test is that it would be hypocritical to do so," Mr Hurd wrote to John Widdicombe of Witney, Oxfordshire. "Like France we are a nuclear power and believe that our security is strengthened by remaining one."

At the EU meeting, nine foreign ministers spoke out against the tests. The Swedish foreign minister, Lena Hjelm Wallen, said: "It is a matter for regret that France has not listened to the appeals of its partners."

The 16-member South Pacific Forum, which includes Australia, New Zealand and island states, said it had cut all communications with France after the test.

Japan's prime minister, Tomiichi Murayama, called the test "extremely regrettable".

Heavily reinforced security forces in Papeete, the Tahitian capital, prevented rioting but opposition and church leaders combined calls for calm with attacks on France.

Pitcairn protest, page 9

# Gourmet's life in the army

**David Hencke**

**BRITAIN'S leading ministerial gourmet, Nicholas Soames, has landed the Government in the soup by revealing that it costs nearly three times as much to train an army chef as a cordon bleu taught by Prue Leith.**

Mr Soames, known as Bunter to his ministerial friends because of his love of a good meal, was replying to questions from the Labour MP for Wallsend, Stephen Byers.

The Defence Minister released figures showing that the army is spending more than £900 a week training its chefs to cook and serve such dishes as boned poussin with wild rice and shitake mushrooms.

Mr Byers contrasted the figures with prices in the brochure for Leith's School of Food and Wine, run by Prue Leith and Caroline Waldegrave. Cooks train there for £360 a week.

The parliamentary answer shows that the total cost of training services cooks comes to £8.6 million a year. The biggest spender is the Army School of Catering at St Omer barracks, Aldershot, which has 157 trainee cooks, costing £48,000 a time.

Mr Byers said: "I know an army is supposed to march on its stomach, but there must be some savings from £8.6 million a year which could go to front-line work."

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|---|---|---|---|
| Austria | AS30 | Malta | 45c |
| Belgium | BF75 | Netherlands | G 4.40 |
| Denmark | DK16 | Norway | NK 16 |
| Finland | FM 9.50 | Portugal | E300 |
| France | FF 13 | Spain | P 275 |
| Germany | DM 3.60 | Sweden | SK 17 |
| Greece | DR 400 | Switzerland | SF 3.30 |
| Italy | L 3,000 | Thailand | 60 Baht |

UN faces its worst cash crisis 4
Ross Perot stirs the pot 6
Che Guevara's place in history 18
The tribe that hit the jackpot 25

# Apollo 13 marks an era of unhappiness in the US

*I WAS SURPRISED* to read in Derek Malcolm's review (October 1) of the Ron Howard film Apollo 13 that the abortive space flight took place before the murder of Martin Luther King, and before the "worst" of Vietnam. Although I understand the point he is trying to make about the loss of American confidence, the first of Mr Malcolm's statements is nevertheless incorrect while the second is most definitely open to interpretation.

Dr King was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee, by James Earl Ray in April 1968, two years before the 1970 launch of the Apollo 13 mission. It is worth mentioning that two months almost to the day after the assassination of Dr King, Senator Robert Kennedy was murdered in Los Angeles after winning the 1968 California primary. The deaths of these two leaders, as well as the earlier assassination of President John F Kennedy in 1963, marked an era which, in retrospect, appears much less optimistic than suggested by Mr Malcolm's opening statement even if he does not give way to the nostalgia he decries in others.

I also wonder if the moon flight really did take place before the "worst" of Vietnam. American involvement in the Vietnam war had been escalating since the spring of 1965, reaching a high point in 1968 when the Viet Cong launched the Tet offensive, a campaign which proved to be the turning point of the Vietnam war. The scale of death and destruction caused by "Tet" appalled American public opinion and led to a progressive loss of support for American intervention in Southeast Asia.

By 1970 Americans also knew about the My Lai massacre and the secret bombing of Cambodia and were looking for a way to extricate themselves from the widening conflict in Southeast Asia. Moreover, by 1970 fewer and fewer Americans were actually involved in fighting the war. In 1968 there were over half a million American troops in Vietnam, but beginning in 1969 this number would be progressively diminished.

By the time Apollo 13 left Cape Kennedy Americans had lost whatever zeal they had for prosecuting the war in Southeast Asia. Anti-war sentiment was in the ascendant, and even American soldiers felt that the conflict was winding down. If anything, the year 1970 marks the halfway point between a period of escalating American involvement in Vietnam (1965-69) and one of progressive disengagement (1970-73). The "worst" in Vietnam was already well under way by the time Apollo 13 left the earth's orbit. In fact, one can argue that from a purely American perspective the "worst" was almost over. Of course, the story was entirely different for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and especially Cambodia.

The Apollo 13 mission occurred during an 11-year period of crisis for the US which began with the death of John F Kennedy in 1963, and ended with the resignation of Richard Nixon in August 1974 — a period which saw the US torn by social and racial unrest and increasingly faced with the limitations of its political and military power. If Apollo 13 is a symbol, it is of a period in American history when it seemed that almost everything went wrong.
*Noël Carisse,*
*Ottawa, Ontario, Canada*



# War criminals must be pursued

*THE CLEAR* transformation of the military balance in Bosnia in recent weeks has fatally undermined one of the premises of international policy to date: that the government in Sarajevo was incapable, even with assistance, of regaining control over its territory.

The discovery of the mass graves near Klujc grimly highlights another major (twin) fallacy on which policy has been built: that the Serbian side will voluntarily "give back" any of the territory containing the evidence of their crimes, and that a post-war settlement can be devised that excuses the central government its duty to investigate major crimes against humanity committed on its soil, for which it is responsible under international law.

It is high time for the international community to recognise that the prosecution of war crimes is not an embarrassment to the peace process, but a part of its very essence; that the only viable form of government for Bosnia is that based on popular rights, irrespective of religion or ethnic affiliation; that ethnic or religious partition is not a practical solution.

It is what the government of Haris Siladic stands for; it is what the people of Sarajevo have suffered for. It is achievable.
*Martin H Cregeen,*
*Kranj, Slovenia*

*IAN TRAYNOR* (Ethnic madness comes full circle, September 24) shouldn't be surprised when a Bosnian becomes waspish when asked if his nationality is Muslim. What's Mr Traynor's nationality? Methodist? Journalists might try reciting "British government" 100 times and bite their tongues every time "mainly Protestant" slips in, then move on to the more challenging task of learning "Bosnian Government" without "mainly Muslim". Mistaking genes or religion for nationality is a root cause of the endless orgy of murder in the Balkans, and the only state in the conflict which is both secular and non-racial appears to be Bosnia. Let us be thankful for it, and give it all the support it needs to clear racist degenerates from its territory.
*Dion Giles,*
*Fremantle, Western Australia*

# A Patten worth copying

*I AM* a solicitor specialising in British immigration and nationality law and, over the last 12 years, I have been going to Hong Kong to advise Chinese clients wishing to obtain residence in the UK.

Every one of my hundreds of clients has made a positive contribution to the UK — for example, by setting up a business which has created employment for people settled here, investing substantial sums of money in the UK economy or providing skills and abilities not available here.

I fully support the statement by Chris Patten that British Hong Kong citizens should be given the right of abode in this country. They will come only if the situation in Hong Kong becomes intolerable — and we should welcome them with open arms.
*B P Gulbenkian,*
*London*

*IT IS* obvious that 3 million Hong Kong residents are not going to want to come to this country after 1997, and equally obvious that if they did they would enrich our national life — literally and figuratively. Obvious, but irrelevant. This is a straightforwardly moral issue.

The alternative to providing proper passports is to deliver 3 million people into the hands of a tyranny without giving them any escape route, and to remove the one incentive that the Beijing government has to stand by its word on self-government — namely that if it does not, the most industrious people of the colony will leave. This would be an act of betrayal.

The Tories' case for the empire was that it spread ideas of representative government and the rule of law and that this mitigated, justified even, the more obviously squalid side of the enterprise.

Now, at the very end of empire, they have the chance to show that this argument was more than simply self-serving rhetoric.
*(Prof) Chris Brown,*
*Department of Politics,*
*Southampton University*

*HONG KONG* — all 390 square miles of it — was ceded to Britain "in perpetuity" by the treaties of Nanking (1842) and Beijing (1860). It belonged to Britain in the same way as the Falklands. It is only the New Territories (356 square miles) that were leased from China for 99 years. The Chinese government could not believe its luck when Mrs Thatcher agreed to give back the lot.

The 3.5 million people to whom Chris Patten wants to give right of residency are those who live in that part of the colony owned by Britain. They are the people who made Hong Kong what it is today — far more successful than Britain.
*John Alley,*
*Comberbach, Cheshire*

# Paris's double take on terrorists

*SEVERAL* recent news articles in your paper (Invisible enemy haunts Paris, September 10; Algerian Islamist casts a shadow in Sweden, September 17) lament the fact that bombs are going off in Paris killing and maiming innocent civilians, and that Sweden ". . . allows people to publicly applaud assassinations committed by terrorists", and are "able to send out propaganda from Germany". Most of these articles emanate from Paris.

As a Sri Lankan from Colombo, I can well appreciate the sense of outrage and frustration of the Parisians. These terrorist acts are all too common in my home town and are perpetrated by Tamil Tiger terrorists who have assassinated an Indian prime minister and a Sri Lankan president in the recent past.

The irony is that these terrorists have their main European office in Paris, and prosper from France's own judicial indulgence which allows them, sitting in their Paris offices, to publicly applaud the assassination of democratically elected leaders, and send out propaganda from France.

Perhaps even at this late stage France will wake up to the fact that mollycoddling terrorists of one sort or another is an encouragement to terrorists everywhere.
*P Ganeshan,*
*Mahe, Seychelles*

## Briefly

*SOPHIE MASSON* (September 17) claims that "the vicious hysteria against anything French in Australia has now gone beyond any reasonable bounds". While the initial shock reaction to the decision to resume testing and the arrogance towards a friend did cause some actions such as boycotting of French restaurants and goods, most criticism has been directed at the French government and military rather than the French people.

At all the rallies I have attended, the speakers called for peaceful protests. One of the most appropriate messages was the dumping of horse manure at the French consulate in Sydney with the message: "You crap in our backyard, we crap in yours" — or words to that effect.
*Kendall Richards,*
*Red Hill, Queensland, Australia*

*I AM VERY* disturbed by the decision of some US newspapers to bow to blackmail and publish the Unabomber's manifesto: there is a great risk of copycat action by other unscrupulous groups. May I ask you to resist all similar attempts to have a manifesto printed in your pages by Conservative Central Office in the next two years regardless of the suffering they continue to inflict.
*Bill Allen,*
*Oxshott, Surrey*

*SHOULD* the anti-opencast mining group's permission to excavate from Michael Heseltine's lawn "10,000 cubic metres of minerals to a depth of 75 feet" (September 17) be seen as superficial British acceptance of the metric system while the depth of support remains with English measures?
*Ed Margerum,*
*Salem, Massachusetts, USA*

*ONE MAY* use aids of a certain type to avoid infection with AIDS; and I am told that The Who is (or was) by no means the same thing as the WHO. Nato and Nasa are comprehensible — but where does it end? Will Hm and the Pm award Obes and Oms to Mps and Emps (and the occasional Mbe to a Gp)? Please, Sir, induce the Guardian, at least, to return to the use of upper case for acronyms.
*E Boughton,*
*Woking, Surrey*

*CAROLINE SULLIVAN* calls three great women's music groups "a mish-mash celebration of sisterhood" (September 10), even though she admits she "liked the music". What is really on her mind? Leave out the misogynist viewpoint and admit it, sisterhood is powerful and they showed it at the celebration of women.
*Juliette Staveley,*
*Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA*

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# Confusion over peace timetable

**Derek Brown in Jerusalem**

ISRAEL'S latest self-rule accord with the PLO is already blurred by confusion, with wildly differing interpretations of what will happen next, and when.

Within hours of the signing in the White House on Thursday last week, officials and analysts were offering a range of timetables for the main provision of the pact: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the main Arab cities of the West Bank.

Some Israeli newspapers, echoing the Palestinian line, confidently asserted that the evacuation would begin within 10 days. Others said that the first withdrawals would be largely symbolic. Israel Radio, quoting military sources, announced that there was no timetable.

The agreement, published last week, says the army will pull out of the northern city of Jenin in the week ending February 17 next year. In the following six weeks it will withdraw successively from Tulkarm, Nablus, Qalqilya, Ramallah, Bethlehem, and — partially — from Hebron in the south. But, the text adds, "The two sides may agree on changes to the above."

There is vagueness too about the pledge to free some of the 5,000-6,000 Palestinians in Israeli prisons.

When the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, and the Israeli foreign minister, Shimon Peres, initialled the accord it was announced that the first batch of prisoners — between 1,200 and 1,500 according to well-sourced reports — would be released as soon as the agreement was signed. Two further batches would be released, the first on the eve of the planned elections for a new Palestinian legislature, expected in March or April. But 24 hours after the signing, there was no word of the prisoners and a foreign ministry official ruled out any imminent release.

For the Palestinians, the speedy release of prisoners is key to implementing the accord. For the Israeli right, any premature releases are anathema.

At the beginning of last week the government let it be known that the first batch of releases would include long-serving prisoners, men over 50, minors, and the 28 Palestinian women in custody. That sparked an outcry on the right, when it was revealed that one woman, Abir al-Wahidi, had been sentenced for planning the death of a West Bank Jewish settler in 1991.

Until now, Israeli governments have insisted that they will never offer early release to prisoners with "Jewish blood on their hands".

The emotive phrase has been much used by rightwing settlers on the West Bank, to condemn what they see as the government's rush for peace at any price. The phrase infuriates Palestinians, who argue that more Arabs have been killed by Jews.

The issue has been complicated by arguments about who can commute the sentences. President Ezer Weizman, who has expressed grave reservations about freeing those accused of violent crimes, apparently has no authority to order releases of those convicted for offences in the West Bank. That is the prerogative of the head of the military government which Israel now plans to dismantle.

● It has been revealed that an American citizen died after interrogation by Palestinian security men in the West Bank. Wael Azzam Abdel-Rahim, in his early fifties, died in hospital in the Jericho enclave, ruled by the PLO-dominated Palestinian Authority. Security officials said Mr Abdel-Rahim suffered a heart attack. But relatives claimed they had found signs of torture on his body when they took it for burial in his home village of Ain Yabrud. A US consular official confirmed that the dead man was an American passport holder, of Palestinian origin.

# Police kill terrorist suspect

**Paul Webster in Paris**

A FRENCH gendarme last week shot dead Khaled Kelkal, the leading suspect in the recent wave of terrorist bombings blamed on Algerian Muslim extremists opposed to the Algiers government.

Kelkal, aged 24, was France's most wanted man and had been hunted for three days by hundreds of police and soldiers before he was cornered, apparently trying to seek refuge with friends near his home in a Lyons suburb. He was seen at a bus stop at Maison Blanche, about six miles from the south-eastern city at 7.45pm by a resident who called the gendarmerie.

A security forces colonel said that four gendarmerie paratroopers were sent to the area and were fired on as they approached. Kelkal was injured by return fire but refused to surrender. He was wounded again in a further exchange of shots and died soon afterwards.

The Algerian-born suspect had been hunted nationwide since police found his fingerprints on an unexploded gas bottle bomb left on a railway line near Lyons on August 16. Thousands of posters were put up throughout the country and his picture was shown on television. Police also wanted to question him about other attacks since July 25 which killed seven people and injured more than 100 in a protest against France's policy of support for the Algerian government.

Last week a report by a mushroom picker in a forest near Lyons led to the discovery of two men in battledress sleeping out in a rough encampment. One was injured in a gunfight with police and two others were arrested nearby. But Kelkal escaped a police swoop.

His death is unlikely to lessen the national emergency over the terror wave in which more than 800,000 people — mostly north Africans — have been questioned in random identity checks. Several other suspects are still being hunted.

The interior minister, Jean-Louis Debré, said that although the terrorist threat remained, he was confident the "Kelkal cell" was linked to four of this summer's seven attacks.

**Gendarmes scour woodland near Lyon looking for Khaled Kelkal, France's most wanted man** PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERT PRATTA

# Reshuffle after Comoro coup

**Mark Dodd in Moroni, Comoro Islands**

**THE LEADERS of a military coup appointed two civilian presidents in the Comoro Islands on Monday as resentment grew against the French mercenary, Bob Denard, who spearheaded the insurrection that ousted the government of President Said Mohamed Djohar.**

**The state-run Comoros Radio identified the two presidents, named by a committee set up by the coup leaders, as Mohamed Taki Abdoul Karim and Said Ali Kemal. A secretary-general, Omar Tamou, was also nominated. All are civilians from the main island. The committee promised elections within a fortnight.**

**Captain Combo Ayouba, the coup leader, was quoted by French television as saying he had handed power over to the two civilians. He and other opponents of the government were freed from prison by white mercenaries and set up a Transitional Military Committee in the Islamic republic of about 450,000 people.**

**Many Comorans said that, although they supported the ousting of President Djohar, they wanted Mr Denard, who has a Comoran wife and citizenship, to leave with his band of mercenaries. — *Reuter***

# Portuguese voters opt for centre-left party

**John Hooper**

PORTUGAL'S moderate Socialist leader, Antonio Guterres, said on Monday he was confident he could form a stable minority administration after Sunday's general election. His party won a clear victory, sweeping the centre-right Social Democratic Party (PSD) from power after a decade in office, but failed to secure an outright parliamentary majority.

When counting of the votes stopped early on Monday, with eight seats in the 230-seat legislature undecided, the Socialists had won 44 per cent of the vote and 109 seats; the PSD had 34 per cent and 83 seats. The opposition will include Portugal's hardline Communist Party and a rightwing movement, the PP-CDS, both of which secured 15 deputies. "I don't see how they can join together to bring down the government," said the Socialist leader.

Four of Portugal's deputies are elected by Portuguese emigrants and the votes cast for them will not be counted until October 11.

As results banked up for Antonio Guterres's Socialists, the leader of the governing Social Democratic Party (PSD), Fernando Nogueira, congratulated his opponents on "their indisputable victory".

Delighted Socialist supporters thronged Lisbon's main thoroughfare, the Avenida de Libertade, waving the party's white and red flags and honking horns. "This is the best electoral performance in the party's history," said the party's campaign organiser, Jorge Coelho.

The foreseeable outcome lifted, though it did not entirely dispel, a cloud which had hung over the campaign: that of a return to the instability which plagued Portugal in the years after its return to democracy in the mid-1970s.

Sunday's vote came after an exuberant, hard-fought campaign which none the less showed that both main parties were standing on broadly similar platforms.

The Socialists' "modernising" leader argued his party was more committed to privatisation and economic liberalisation than the PSD. The election's outcome suggests European socialist leaders have little to fear from excessive moderation.

# US pushes for truce in Bosnia

**Ian Black in New York and Julian Borger in Zagreb**

WESTERN attempts to keep the fragile Balkan peace process moving forward are concentrating on securing a general ceasefire after last week's agreement on post-war constitutional principles.

Diplomats said that Richard Holbrooke, the US envoy, was working on a cessation of hostilities agreement and was to pursue this when he returned to the region, starting in Sarajevo, at the end of last week.

US and European officials at the United Nations played down the significance of the agreement, which set out a formula for sharing power once fighting ends, but left open the crucial questions of a ceasefire and territorial division.

Bosnia's president, Alija Izetbegovic, said that despite progress in peace talks a ceasefire would not be possible until Serbs made a number of concessions. Mr Izetbegovic said these included restoration of utilities in Serb-besieged Sarajevo and of civilian traffic on a highway through Serb territory from the city to Kiseljak, and the opening of a land route to the government-held enclave of Gorazde.

Mr Izetbegovic also insisted that civilian authorities replace military authorities in Serb-held Banja Luka and that the ethnic cleansing of Muslim and Croat civilians from that region be halted.

On the ground the UN accused the Bosnian Serbs of firing rockets across the border at four Croatian towns. There was no apparent military rationale for the rocket attack, which one Zagreb-based diplomat described as "an open invitation for the Croatian army to come back across the border". Last month Croatian troops pulled back from an offensive into Serb-held northern Bosnia.

The Croatian government has warned that its army would retaliate if the bombardment continues. It withdrew troops from bridgehead positions inside north-western Bosnia after a Serb counter-attack using fighter-bombers inflicted heavy casualties.

The commander of Bosnian government forces, General Rasim Delic, poured cold water on hopes of an impending settlement, and showed little appetite for halting a government offensive in western Bosnia. In an interview with Bosnian television he urged Bosnians to brace themselves for more fighting.

● European Union monitors have compiled a report accusing the Croatian government of being "largely responsible" for a campaign of atrocities carried out against Serb civilians during and after the crushing of the rebel Serb republic of Krajina last month.

The report says convoys of refugees were shelled as they fled and the few Serbs who stayed were subjected to a "deliberate hostile policy which included killings, burning of houses, looting of property and various legal obstacles", to ensure that Serbs never returned to the region.

"A report by UN human rights teams provides detailed accounts of abuses by Croatian soldiers in the aftermath of the offensive.

Le Monde, page 15

# UN faces its worst cash crisis yet

**Ian Black**

THE United Nations, on the brink of financial collapse because its largest members are $3.7 billion in arrears, has been raiding its peacekeeping fund to pay officials' salaries and expensives.

Less than a month away from the UN's grand 50th anniversary celebrations, the strain is showing as the financial crunch grows steadily worse.

Foreign ministers set out their national agendas before the General Assembly and almost all talked bluntly about the worst cash crisis in UN history.

The United States is the worst offender, with arrears of around $1.2 billion. The secretary of state, Warren Christopher, has promised to work hard to persuade the Republican-dominated Congress to cough up.

Russia comes second: it owes about $590 million but can at least plead the disproportionate financial burden it inherited from the old Soviet Union.

Because of the crisis, the UN has transferred $98 million from its peacekeeping budget to plug the hole in its regular budget and this will probably rise to almost $300 million by next month. As a result, several troop contributors have not been paid since June; 80 countries are owed nearly $100 million. Bosnia alone costs the UN $5 million a day.

Malcolm Rifkind, the UK Foreign Secretary, spoke uncharacteristically sharply for Britain, which is proud of paying in full and on time. "The UN is on the verge of financial collapse," he warned.

France, with large numbers of blue berets and a tight domestic budget, has been outspoken too.

Its foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, told the General Assembly: "It is not acceptable for member states — and I am not just thinking here of those that are experiencing real economic difficulties — to show such scant respect to the organisation by dismissing the legal obligations they have freely accepted."

Wealthy Japan and Germany, prospective members of an enlarged security council, have been tough in their comments too, while the Scandinavians are particularly dismayed.

Dire straits have produced some interesting proposals: one being considered is borrowing from the World Bank, although the US would oppose this and the bank is not keen. Another old but radical idea is for some form of global taxation..

Britain and Sweden have proposed revising the assessments system, which is full of distortions that make at least 50 very poor countries pay beyond their means while failing to ensure that bigger fish, especially some of the economic giants of the developing world, do their bit.

In the end, much of the problem comes back to the US: its arrears — a third of the total — were built up under the Reagan administration and improved under President George Bush, but the cash flow has been disrupted by congressional hostility to foreign aid.

Mr Christopher insisted on Monday that the administration would meet its commitments, but just a few days before it unilaterally cut its peacekeeping contribution by 6 per cent and was vigorously condemned by the Europeans.

The UN has tried to answer US criticisms that it is a bloated organisation by streamlining staff, but even there it is being stymied because there is not enough cash for redundancy payments.

As pressure builds up, all eyes will be on President Clinton when he mounts the podium during this month's 50th birthday jamboree. But he will have to make more than a gesture to help defuse the cash crisis.

"Empty words," as Mr Rifkind said, "will not pay bills."



Croc watching . . . Children look for crocodiles in a Bangkok canal last week after more than 100 of the reptiles escaped from a farm during floods PHOTOGRAPH: SAKCHAI LAUT

# OJ case jury reaches verdict

**Ian Katz in Los Angeles**

THE jury in the OJ Simpson case on Monday dropped the biggest bombshell yet in the former American football hero's eight-month murder trial when it announced it had reached a verdict after less than five hours of deliberation.

But in another bizarre twist to the case, their finding was to remain sealed until 10am California time on Tuesday (after the Weekly went to press). Judge Lance Ito said that because the lead lawyers were not present, having assumed that the jury would take far longer to decide, the court would delay announcing the verdict for another 19 hours.

The jury requested to hear again the testimony of Allan Park, the limousine driver who was to take Mr Simpson to the airport on the night of the murders.

The jurors — eight black and two white women, one black and one Hispanic man — paid particularly close attention to Mr Park's testimony that he had not seen Mr Simpson's Ford Bronco outside his estate when he arrived, leading observers to conclude that they wanted to pin down the "window of opportunity" in which he could have committed the crime.

Several who watched jurors said none met Mr Simpson's eye when they filed in to announce that they had reached a decision.

**Washington Post, page 11**

## The Week

**UN trade sanctions imposed on Iraq are causing irreparable damage to a generation of children, and 4 million people are at severe risk, according to the World Food Programme.**

**THE inquest into the death of Azaria Chamberlain, who was said to have been killed in 1980 by a dingo, is to be reopened. The Australian case has already sparked two inquests, a trial, two appeals and a royal commission.**

**TURKEY'S prime minister, Tansu Ciller, was fighting for her political future after Mesut Yilmaz, leader of the opposition Motherland Party, refused to discuss forming a coalition.**

**RELATIVES of the 852 people who died in the Baltic ferry disaster a year ago attacked the Swedish government's refusal to raise the Estonia car ferry and condemned as "grotesque" plans to entomb the wreck in concrete.**

**EIGHTEEN people were killed when suspected Muslim guerrillas attacked a bus in southern Algeria. In another incident, the former interior minister, Aboubaker Belkaid, was shot dead in Algiers.**

**THE Catholic Church in Ireland faced a new crisis when a senior priest was accused of sexually molesting boys over a 15-year period.**

**GERMAN government disarray over European currency union deepened when a parliamentary leader of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's ruling coalition demanded renegotiation of the Maastricht treaty.**

**AN OBSCURE populist party led by an extreme right-winger, Joachim Siegerist, who is appealing against a race-hatred conviction in Germany, stunned forecasters by taking a sixth of the seats in elections to the Latvian parliament.**

**THREE US serviceman were charged by the Japanese authorities and could face life imprisonment if they are convicted of raping a young girl in Okinawa.**

**THE RUSSIAN government rejected plans for the possible extension of Nato to countries in eastern Europe.**

**SRI LANKAN troops and Tiger rebels were locked in heavy fighting in the northern Jaffna peninsula. The army said at least 200 Tigers had been killed.**

**HARVARD University was shaken by allegations of anti-white discrimination, amid claims that it has lowered standards to bring in more ethnic minorities — perhaps illegally.**

Black and white news, page 24

# UAE cash for killing offer

**Kathy Evans**

**IN an effort to stem growing international criticism, the United Arab Emirates government has offered blood money to the family of a 70-year old man murdered by a young Filipina maid.**

**The offer, said to set a legal precedent in the Gulf, would allow the death sentence on Sarah Balabagan, aged 16, to be set aside. But officials said the murdered man's family were insisting on the maid's execution.**

**Balabagan said at an earlier hearing that she killed her employer after being repeatedly raped.**

**The family's refusal puts the Abu Dhabi head of state, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahayan, in a difficult situation. Legally, he can declare clemency, but according to Islamic law the family has the right to insist on her death.**

**Most Abu Dhabi officials consider it unlikely that Sheikh Zayed will confirm the death sentence.**

# Nigeria sets date for civilian rule

**Cindy Shiner in Lagos and Walter Schwarz**

NIGERIA'S military rulers announced a timetable at the weekend for a return to civilian rule and reduced the sentences of alleged "coup-plotters", probably earning a reprieve from immediate new sanctions by the West.

But one diplomat said President Sani Abacha was not "off the hook yet". The three-year transition period he announced was too long and Moshood Abiola, the man widely believed to have won 1993's annulled presidential elections, was still in jail, the diplomat pointed out.

Sanctions already in place — bans on visas for the military and reductions in financial aid — will not be eased unless further steps are taken.

Gen Abacha, in a speech commemorating Nigeria's 35th anniversary of independence from Britain, was apparently trying to buy time by appeasing the US and Britain, which have been urging a return to civilian rule. He hopes to stop the freezing of his assets and Nigeria's threatened suspension from the Commonwealth.

Some western diplomats have said that no transitional arrangements would be acceptable to them without the release of Chief Abiola. He was jailed by the military and charged with treason after declaring himself president last year. Gen Abacha said that his trial would continue and he would not be freed.

Gen Abacha said that the transition to democracy would begin this year with the lifting of the remaining bans on political activity and the appointment of a national electoral commission. Local elections would be held at the end of next year, and presidential elections at the end of 1998.

Wole Soyinka, Nigeria's Nobel-laureate playwright and opposition leader, said in London that no credence should be given to Gen Abacha's promise to return the country to civilian rule in three years.

"We have information that Abacha plans to stay on until the next century. He has a *marabou* [crystal-gazer] who tells him that. Nor do we expect him to release Mr Abiola or any other key prisoners."

Mr Soyinka and others have set up dissident pressure groups, in Britain and the US.

Gen Abacha warned foreign powers against providing too much support for Nigerian dissidents. "Foreign nations which wish to continue to maintain cordial relations with us must observe the internationally acceptable standard which holds that dissidents should not be permitted to use their host country as a basis for subversion and the plotting of violence," he said.

Among those detained earlier this year for alleged coup-plotting — no public trial was ever held — is a former president, Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria's only military ruler to have voluntarily handed over power to a civilian government.

● The Shell oil company has been accused of working with the Nigerian government to bribe prosecution witnesses in the murder trial of the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and other leading members of the Ogoni community.

In a filmed statement and sworn affidavit, Charles Danwi said he was promised Shell contracts and 30,000 naira (£300) to "make sure I made the statement that will involve Ken [Saro-Wiwa], Ledum Mitee [vice-president of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People] and other Mosop officials" in the murder of four Ogoni men by a mob on May 21 1994.

Shell has denied any link with the proceedings in the military tribunal.





# Benin becomes a bankers' model

The country has gone from near chaos to stability. **Cindy Shiner** reports from Cotonou

FIVE YEARS ago Benin's banks were broke, civil servants had not been paid for more than two years, there was no budget, no medicine was being imported officially and President Mathieu Kerekou was struggling to keep the lid on social upheaval.

"The country was at the brink of total chaos," said Michael Azefor, the World Bank representative in the administrative capital, Cotonou.

Then one of Africa's most disastrous and hardline Marxist states did an about-face. It stepped out from under its own cold war shadow in 1989 and held a 10-day national conference that ushered in a new era. Despite renouncing Marxism and introducing reform, President Kerekou, who had seized power in 1972, was pushed aside and a transitional government took over.

Benin, once one of Africa's most coup-ridden countries, became the first state on the continent peacefully to oust a dictatorship for democracy. Elections held in 1991 brought former World Bank executive Nicephore Soglo to power. His government of technocrats — with much financial and moral support from the West — has brought Benin to the edge of success.

Banks now have more cash than they are lending, government workers are paid regularly, fair and peaceful elections have been held, and lively debate and transparency have replaced authoritarianism and corruption. Officials regularly appear on television to disclose the country's finances.

"In many ways you may say that Benin has made tremendous progress. It is a more democratic country than others in the region, such as Ghana and Burkina Faso," Mr Azefor said. For several years Ghana has been the role model for reform in West Africa.

In addition, Benin managed to weather last year's devaluation of its currency, the CFA, which is pegged to the French franc and used by other former French colonies in Africa. It was a hard blow to Benin's impoverished population. Prices of staple foods rose dramatically and the value of salaries was halved.

"There is a real gap between what we have gained in terms of democratic liberties and what we have gained in terms of social welfare," said Joseph Akoha, a civil servant who teaches English at the University of Benin. He received 92,000 CFA (£260) a month before devaluation. He now earns 140,000 CFA (£180).

"I'm suffering. Very few civil servants . . . can actually eat on their salaries for more than two weeks a month because inflation has gone up in real terms more than 55 per cent, although official figures would not say that," Mr Akoha said.

Officials acknowledge that unemployment is a problem. They have introduced short- to medium-term solutions by employing thousands of young people to repair roads, schools, health centres and sewerage. They are also trying to create a strong business class, and support grassroots non-governmental organisations and co-operatives.

Since women were not considered a political threat to the former Marxist government, they were allowed to pursue trading and other business interests. Now the largest homes in Cotonou are owned by women and many have property in Europe. More than half of the capital in Benin's banks belongs to women; about 150 women have assets of hundreds of thousands of pounds or more.

In an effort to transform that economic strength to political power, emphasis has been placed on education. Enrolment of girls in school has increased in the past two years, but it still only stands at 30 per cent compared to 60 per cent for boys.

Three of Benin's 87 political parties are led by women. A woman heads the constitutional court and three government ministries are run by women. As part of Benin's fiscal reform, 20 import duty regulations have been reduced to four, helping Benin compete against Nigeria and reduce corruption. Import duties on key products such as books and medicines have also been axed.

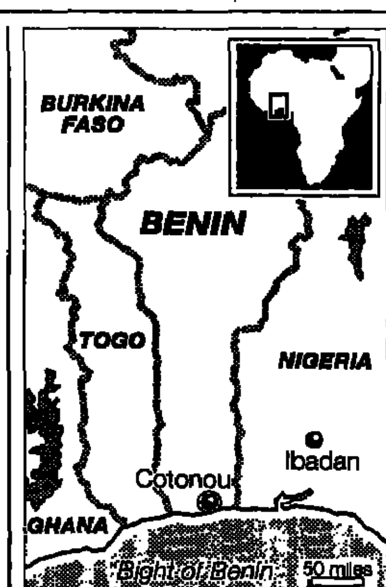
While officials agree that Benin is emerging as a success in a turbulent region, few can fully explain why it has managed to do so and others have not. A key factor is President Soglo, who has been able to channel his World Bank experience into Benin's reforms. Presidential elections are scheduled for next year.

Mr Azefor is optimistic about the future. "I think they've reached the point of no return," he said.

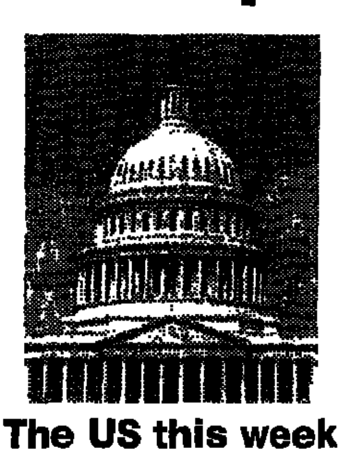
Others are more sceptical. For one thing, outside forces pose a threat. Benin shelters more than 100,000 refugees who fled unrest in neighbouring Togo. Turmoil in Nigeria could spell disaster for Benin. Nigeria is home to more than 100 million people, compared with Benin's 5 million.

"I'm very worried," said Mr Akoha. "The smallest fire in Nigeria will bring a huge amount of smoke in Benin."

People worry about unemployment, corruption, regionalism in politics and a traditional north-south division. A coup plot was uncovered in 1992, indicating that some old wounds have yet to heal.



# Perot puts the cat among the pigeons



## The US this week

Martin Walker

AT LAST, we may have something to fill the political black hole that looms next summer between the great rush of the presidential primaries in March, and the party conventions in August. In the past, this hole has been filled by the Pennsylvania and New York elections in April, and variable degrees of suspense hanging over the California primary in June.

But now the rush of states holding their primaries early to increase their local political leverage has created a mad March. By All Fool's Day, which may be appropriate, we should see the vast bulk of delegates chosen and thus the Republican nomination settled. This will be followed by a long and tedious summer of anti-climax.

Politicians hate a vacuum. One of the most striking features of the Clinton-Gore campaign in 1992 was the stroke of genius by David Wilhelm, the campaign manager. He dreamed up the Clinton-Gore bus tours through the heartland of America, events which caught the national imagination in the same way that Roosevelt's and Truman's whistle-stop trains had done before.

But just as the campaign strategists are wondering what they can do to match that, the Texas billionaire Ross Perot has capped them all. Announcing his plan to form a third party, he now proposes to fill the black hole with his own party's primaries, conducted by some vaguely-described hi-tech means that involves satellites and telephone voting.

Enthusiastic volunteers in California last week began a crash drive to win 900,000 signatures over the next 30 days to put Perot's new third party on to the ballot, and plunge the US into the most cliff-hanging three-way election battle for more than 80 years. A speedy Gallup poll found that more than half of Americans support the idea of a third party, 26 per cent would like to join it, and 16 per cent would be prepared to donate money to it.

But Perot's buttomless pockets and his monumental ego are taking US politics on a trip into the unknown. Perot is carefully not saying whether he will be a candidate again, or whether he will deliver his third party machine to an independent candidate such as General Colin Powell, Senator Bill Bradley or A N Other.

"Every outstanding person who could be a great president would be welcome," Perot said. Asked about Powell, he replied: "Certainly we want people of that stature and quality."

Perot spoke by telephone with Powell before making the third party announcement. Powell expressed polite interest, but is making no commitments to what could be a custom-made vehicle for his own White House ambitions.

But the two existing parties each laughed off Perot's claim that "there won't be a three-party system. One of those parties has got to disappear. One of those special interest parties will have a meltdown."

"A fantasy of delusion," sniffed the Republican Speaker, Newt Gingrich. "I just can't figure this guy out, because we're doing all the things he wanted done," grumbled Bob Dole. Not quite. The Republicans have studiously avoided Perot's 1992 call for a 50-cent a gallon gasoline tax, and his repeated demands for campaign finance and lobby reform.

That may strike people as a bit rich, coming from a Texan who spent $60-80 million of his own money to muscle into the 1992 race. All that money won him 19 per cent of the vote, but not a single delegate in the electoral college. So the Texas billionaire knows better than most the difficulty of breaking through the entrenched two-party system with an independent challenge.

The one clear beneficiary of Ross Perot's return to presidential politics would seem to be Bill Clinton, who can now hope for the anti-Clinton vote to be divided, and for the new party to take more votes from the Republicans than from the Democrats, as Perot did in 1992. In announcing his decision to launch a third party on CNN's Larry King show, Perot was particularly critical of the Republican party, claiming that even with the revolutionary agenda of their Contract with America, they were letting the country down.

"These hard reforms like term limits, they don't want to touch. The ethical standards, they don't want to get into. The balancing the budget has not gotten through, and that has got to get straight," Perot said.

Beyond the psychological explanation for Perot's shock announcement, which got him back into the headlines hitherto seized by Powell, there is no doubt that there is a political opportunity for a third party. One of the chief reasons 62 per cent cent of Americans tell pollsters they are fed up with the two main parties is that they continue to keep their noses buried in the trough of lobbyists, political action committees and fat-cat donors. Perot proved in 1992 that he can build a credible political machine from scratch, and is now prepared to do so again.

Perot must get either 89,000 members for his new Independence party, or 900,000 petition signatures, by October 24 to be on the ballot in California. For Ohio, he needs 33,400 signatures by November 20. Perot's United We Stand organisation, the remnant of the 1992 campaign, is the vehicle to achieve this. Its phone lines have been so swamped by calls of support that Perot's people think they can get both the 89,000 new party members and the 900,000 names on the ballot petition.




They are already drawing up a party platform. It includes a commitment to a balanced budget, to end the current system of campaign finance and a new ethics law for politicians that says, "No more gifts, no more trips, no more junkets, no more meals, no more nothing."

NOT SINCE former President Theodore Roosevelt mounted his own Bull Moose movement of 1912 have the prospects look so inviting for a third party challenge. The Democrats are not inspired by Clinton, who is running against his own party's congressional liberals, and despite the opinion poll lead of 72-year old Senator Dole, none of the 10 Republican contenders has yet caught fire. A dispirited Pete Wilson, who as governor of California should have been a strong candidate, pulled out of the race at the weekend.

The two main parties are sharply divided. Among the Republicans, the religious right and the anti-abortionists are battling for control of the grassroots with the moderates, who insist that the party has to be able to appeal to the middle ground. The Democrats are split between the old liberals who are fighting to preserve the welfare state, and the New Democrats like Clinton who are prepared to strike a compromise with the Republicans in Congress.

In short, America already has four parties, uneasily ensconced in two quarrelsome coalitions. And despite an economy in excellent statistical health, with unemployment just over 5 per cent, the US public is unhappy with their politics and with their politicians. Hence the extraordinary craze for Powell. Selling his books faster than any American in history, Powell would be president tomorrow if opinion polls mattered.

Powell could beat Clinton as an independent or as a Republican, suggest the latest polls. Partly because of his record as a successful general, partly because of his upright character, and partly because of the fashion craze for a man all over the TV shows and magazine covers, Powell is the dream candidate for those who distrust the two main parties and those who see this universally admired black leader bringing together an America still riven by race. One incident in his military life could even win him the redneck vote — he once shook hands with the young Sergeant Elvis Presley as they patrolled the East German frontier. Clinton may relish the nickname Elvis; Powell met the man.

Powellmania is reaching into some unusual places. Last month what remains of the American left gathered in Washington to celebrate the 50th birthday of Bob Borosage, of the Institute of Policy Studies, the Rainbow Coalition, and most other good (and lost) causes of the left. A popular and respected figure, Borosage was celebrated by his friends and comrades, but the name that ran through the conversation was that of Powell. Many on the left, from the unions and the think-tanks, are thinking seriously about Powell as a far more reliable and upright defender than Clinton of what is left of the New Deal and Great Society reforms against Speaker Gingrich's Republican zealots.

"With about 85 per cent of the black presidential vote crammed into a corner of the Democratic Party, Republicans run on their whiteness and Democrats run away from 'their' blacks. The mixture is toxic," argues the civil rights veteran Roger Wilkins, one of those present at the Borosage party. "Powell's presence in the race either as a Republican or an independent would shake enough black votes out of the Democratic party to force each major party to give up its scapegoating in order to compete seriously for the allegiance of blacks."

The irony is that while Clinton is often condemned for being so evasive and nimble that people are not sure what he stands for, Powell is being hailed because people are not too sure what he stands for either. The difference is that people see Powell's character as exemplary. And when he talks vaguely of being "a fiscal conservative and social moderate", that sounds good enough for them. Powell's own writings stress little more than his centrism.

"The time may be at hand for a third major party to emerge to represent the sensible centre of the American political spectrum," Powell wrote in his best-selling An American Journey. He was put off by "the political passion of those on the extreme right who seem to claim divine wisdom on political as well as spritual matters... and by patronising liberals who claim to know what is best for society but devote little thought to who will eventually pay the bills".

But even the most cursory reading of Powell's book and a reasonable familiarity with his work as Reagan's national security adviser and as the Pentagon's top general, makes it clear that he can be just as evasive and politically flexible as Clinton. As the military aide to Reagan's defence secretary Caspar Weinberger, Powell came up with a Clintonesque ploy. Asked by the White House to organise the secret delivery of missiles to Iran (the start of the Iran-Contra scandal), the Pentagon took Powell's advice and delivered the weapons to the CIA as the government agency best equipped for such clandestine work. Then Weinberger wrote to the president saying the orders had been carried out, but the Pentagon was not at all sure that the whole thing was legal.

That was a masterly wheeze by a very political general. Not the kind of soldier who relished wars of attrition, Powell looks like a man who would prefer to win the presidency by acclamation rather than wage the trench battles of the Republican primaries. But even if Perot invites him, Powell might be ill-advised to link up with the Texan.

Something will fill the vacuum after the rash of Republicans primaries ends next March. It could be Perot's third party. It could be a new Powell bubble. It could be a Republican stalemate, with Senator Phil Gramm winning enough Southern and Christian Coalition delegates to block the Dole campaign. One thing is sure about the American political timetable: black holes get filled.

Robert Kuttner, page 12

# Muslim cleric found guilty in terrorism trial

Mark Tran in New York

**THE Egyptian cleric, Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, and nine of his Muslim followers were found guilty at the weekend of planning a wave of terror in New York, at the end of the biggest terrorism case in United States history.**

**An anonymous jury convicted the blind cleric and his followers on five counts, including seditious conspiracy — a charge used rarely by federal courts, which amounts to an attempt to undermine the government by force.**

**Sheikh Abdel-Rahman and one other defendant, El Sayyid Nosair, face possible life imprisonment. The other eight men face prison terms of up to 20 years in a conspiracy the centrepiece of which was a spectacular plan to detonate five bombs within 10 minutes at the United Nations, the Lincoln and Holland tunnels, the George Washington Bridge and a federal building housing the FBI.**

**Immediately after the verdict in the heavily guarded US district court in Manhattan, security forces went on a high state of alert as New York prepares to receive the Pope this week, and subsequently world leaders for the UN's 50th anniversary.**

**The verdict brings to an end New York's second big terrorism trial in two years. In March 1994, four men connected to Sheikh Abdel-Rahman were convicted of bombing the World Trade Centre.**

**The verdict, following deliberations lasting a week, came after a grinding nine-month trial.**

**As the verdict was delivered, Sheikh Abdel-Rahman, aged 57, kept his head bowed as he listened to an interpreter through earphones. The sheikh — who suffers from heart problems, diabetes and other ailments — will now be moved to a prison hospital in the Midwest. He will be sentenced in January.**





# Dilapidated pile flaunts its rare fungi

Maev Kennedy

**THE builders are in at Llanerchaeron, and have been warned to keep off the grass. "On pain of death," the property agent, Hywel Raw-Rees, thunders.**

**This week, 30 building workers start lessons on telling your *Hygrocybe punicea* from your *Hygrocybe flavescens*.**

**The house, a 1790 dilapidated Nash treasure, is rare. The lawn is fabulously rare: it contains four fungi on the Red Data lists of nine European countries as being on the point of extinction, and six more on the British list. It is, says Maurice Rotheroe of the British Mycological Society, the fungus-fancier's equivalent of finding the Elgin Marbles in a potting shed.**

**The house, semi-ruined, empty and without any money to support it, was left to the National Trust in 1989 by John Powell Fonsonby Lewes. Volunteers cleared the choked grounds and patched the worst holes, but there was no money for more until an elderly London woman died last year. Pamela Ward ran an antique shop until her collections swelled beyond the possibility of squeezing in any customer. By the time of her death every room in the house was piled ceiling high. She left the trust a lot of money, and all her possessions, with the seemingly impossible stipulation that they be kept together. The battered empty rooms of Llanerchaeron were the solution. The lawn, which will become a no-go area, has been neglected for so long that it counts as ancient grassland. The fungi, which flourish only in very poor undisturbed soil, and cannot abide nitrogen, love it.**

**The British Mycological Society will sponsor notices telling visitors of the marvels they are sparing. If the lawn should be damaged Mr Rotheroe says, it would take 50 years to restore it to the same state of precious dereliction.**



Fabulous fungus from Llanerchaeron's lawn PHOTOGRAPH: JEFF MORGAN

# Publishers quit price deal

Ian King

A PRICE war in the book world became inevitable last week after four leading publishers — HarperCollins, Random House, Penguin and Oxford University Press — walked out of the industry's price-fixing agreement.

Britain's biggest book seller, WH Smith, responded by announcing it will cut the cost of several best sellers by up to a quarter, while supermarket chain Asda promised even bigger savings. The price of books by authors such as Jeffrey Archer, Martin Amis, Barbara Taylor Bradford, Len Deighton and John Grisham could be halved.

Small independent book sellers reacted with dismay, warning that they would be the victims of any price war, and claiming that hundreds could be forced out of business.

The walk-outs effectively spell the end of the Net Book Agreement, the price-fixing arrangement which for the last century has allowed publishers to set minimum prices for books.

Announcing its departure from the scheme, HarperCollins — which is part of Rupert Murdoch's media empire — said that the position of the NBA was "no longer tenable" in an age of increasing competition.

Asda, the supermarket chain which in March launched a fresh onslaught on the NBA, slashing the price of Our Game, by John Le Carré, to £8.49 — against the £15.99 dictated by the NBA — immediately promised to undercut any other book seller.

The Booksellers' Association, which represents 95 per cent of Britain's book sellers, insisted that the price war would be to the detriment of small book shops and consumers alike.

Willie Anderson, president of the association, said: "Consumers will end up with short-term discounts on a slim range of titles in exchange for their current rich choice."

● Martin Amis's The Information, the most talked-about though not necessarily the most read book of the year, was last week excluded from the shortlist for the Booker Prize, Britain's main literary award, *writes Giles Foden*.

At the same time, his friend Salman Rushdie was made the strongest favourite in the prize's 27-year history with The Moor's Last Sigh.

The Information, which has shifted about 48,000 hardback copies in six months, made the "long shortlist" but was rejected along with Gordon Burn's Fullalove and Nick Hornby's High Fidelity.

The judges short-listed five books rather than the traditional six. The other four books are Pat Barker's The Ghost Road, the third of her first world war novels; the South African-born Justin Cartwright's In Every Face I Meet; Barry Unsworth's Morality Play; and the Australian-born Tim Winton's The Riders.

# Carlings and Branaghs call time on marriage

John Duncan, Edward Pilkington and Helena Nowicka

WILL Carling's marriage and career were in the balance last week after his wife Julia issued a brief and bitter statement which strongly suggested that their separation, following weeks of speculation about his relationship with the Princess of Wales, was likely to be permanent.

The Rugby Football Union also refused to rule out divorce from its long-standing England captain amid speculation that he may be dropped as skipper for the forthcoming match against South Africa.

"I had always valued my marriage as the most important and sacred part of my life," said Mrs Carling's statement, "and it hurts me very much to face losing my husband in a manner which has become outside my control. I have given total support to Will and this has unfortunately proved to no avail."

The RFU, who last week pointedly refused to name Carling as captain for the match against South Africa on November 18, may feel he is now not in the right frame of mind for the job. That would be a huge personal blow for Carling who revels in his captain's role.

The split comes hard on the heels of revelations about Carling's "close friendship" with the Princess of Wales, which was "exposed" by a Sunday newspaper.

Although the Carlings have stressed that no one else is involved in their separation, they have offered no other explanation.

The princess has let it be known that she believes Carling has "behaved like a fool". She is reported to have told close friends: "It is a matter for the Carlings. It is not my fault. He's made a fool of himself."

The split was followed by a public announcement at the weekend that Kenneth Branagh and Emma Thompson, Britain's last high-profile luvvie couple, have drifted apart after six years of marriage. The news comes as no surprise to their circle of famous friends. In the past two years they have spent an estimated 100 days together, the result of their intense work schedules.

The difficulties between Hugh Grant and Liz Hurley, Bob Geldof and Paula Yates, and the Carlings have fuelled the debate over whether celebrity status and a stable relationship are mutually exclusive.

Ian Shuttleworth, author of the unauthorised biography Ken & Em, believes a likely point of conflict between the couple is the desire of Thompson, aged 36, to start a family. She once joked: "I'd like children but Ken is so tired that all his sperm are on crutches."

## The Week in Britain James Lewis

# Irish talks move one step forward, two steps back

DAVID TRIMBLE, the new leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, travelled to Dublin to meet the Irish prime minister, John Bruton. His purpose, of course, was to argue the case of the Unionists, who are deeply suspicious of the peace process. It is, however, a significant sign of progress that the Unionists no longer pretend Dublin does not exist.

Mr Trimble has even acknowledged Washington, and has authorised a permanent Unionist lobbying presence there, presumably recognising, however reluctantly, that next month's visit to Ireland by President Clinton could kick-start the stalled peace process.

But the IRA, in a tough statement last week, unequivocally rejected Britain's demand for the decommissioning of weapons as a prerequisite for all-party talks. A conference of the terrorists' political wing, Sinn Fein, also expressed frustration at the lack of political progress. Its president, Gerry Adams, said that if the impasse was not resolved the peace process would "go into reverse and break down".

There are no reasons for expecting an imminent resumption of violence in Northern Ireland, but the presence of Mr Adams provoked an outbreak of sectarian violence in Glasgow where he went to appeal for Scottish support for an unconditional resumption of the peace talks. Bottle-throwing loyalists taunted republican sympathisers, and it took more than 100 police to contain the protest.

The US is reported to be trying to win Sinn Fein's support for an International Disarmament Commission (dismissed by the IRA last month) by widening its remit beyond that of just decommissioning. This might also get Britain off the hook, but the Prime Minister, John Major, is unlikely to alter his stance until after next week's Conservative Party conference. Too many hard-line Tories believe he has already gone "too soft" on terrorism.

THE CHANCELLOR, Kenneth Clarke, is unlikely to be the most popular figure at the Tory conference. He stood out last week and defended the welfare state against right-wingers who want an end to universal provision and its replacement by a "safety-net" approach. And he repeated his commitment to raise pensions in line with inflation, which the right also questions.

Rather more ambiguously, the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell, said the National Health Service could continue as a comprehensive health-care system only if doctors were prevented from carrying out procedures which were only of "marginal" benefit. Critics saw this as an implicit endorsement of health-care "rationing".

Rationing is already happening. Health authorities in Berkshire listed "non-essential" treatments, which included the removal of wisdom teeth and D&C scrapes for women under 40, as well as some more obviously cosmetic procedures such as abdominoplasty (tummy tucks). The authorities insisted there was no "absolute ban" on these treatments, which would be available if there was proven clinical need. But the message was clear: the NHS is no longer a comprehensive service.

A FALL in the number of recorded crimes will give the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, something with which to placate his party's hangers and floggers. "The tide has turned," he crowed, when the number of crimes reported to the police in England and Wales was shown to be down by 5 per cent to 2.1 million offences. This followed a similar fall the previous year — making the greatest percentage two-year drop for more than 40 years.

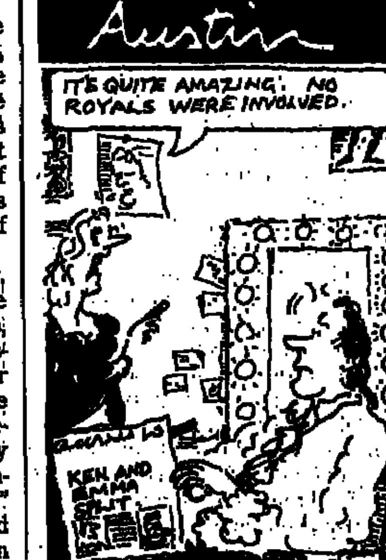
Mr Howard may like to imply that he has done it single-handedly by "tough" sentences and upping the prison population by 25 per cent in two years, but the figures were challenged by penal reformers, and much of the fall may prove to be illusory. The biggest declines were in car crime (modern vehicles are much more secure) and domestic burglaries (more inner-city residents are uninsured or uninsurable and have few incentives to report break-ins).

Many criminologists place more credence on the biennial British Crime Survey as a record of criminal activity, and this has tended, in recent years, to be markedly at variance with police figures, which are thought to report only one-third of total crime.

Mr Howard is heading for a major clash with the probation service over his plans to dismantle the university training of probation officers, which has a social work ethos, and bring into the service more officers with a military background.

Existing probation officers say they will refuse to co-operate, which will make Mr Howard's plans unworkable.

EURO-BASHERS had a field day last Sunday, Metrication Day, when Britain applied a European directive compelling retailers to sell their goods in metric units rather than pounds, ounces, gallons and pints. They saw it as a further example of heavy-handed interference by Brussels in the British way of life, ignoring the uncomfortable truth that traders had failed to prepare for a directive heralded six years ago. The £5,000 penalty for non-compliance is a figure decreed by Westminster, not Brussels.



# Labour unites over low pay

Michael White

OLD and New Labour on Monday buried historic differences over economic policy to unite behind a package designed to end low pay, take a million people off the dole — and even to cut £500 million of VAT from family fuel bills.

On the first day of the Brighton conference the big unions and rank and file delegates halted their impassioned campaign to tie a Blair government to a minimum wage of £4.15 an hour and allowed the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, to preach a stern lesson against inflation and "quick-fix" economic panaceas.

Although the Transport and General Workers' Union led the retreat from confrontation in the £4.15 row, Tony Blair did not get things all his way. As expected, the Blairite shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, lost his seat in the National Executive Committee elections. He also had his hotel room invaded by homeless critics of his "squeegee" policies. He was replaced by Mo Mowlam, another moderniser, but the new one member/one vote system found the heart to re-elect Old Left hero Dennis Skinner.

And on the conference fringe Roy Hattersley, the ex-deputy leader turned dissident, issued a challenge to the leadership to toughen its stance on grant-maintained schools, after warning that Labour cannot duck the fact that taxpayers will have to "pay a price to put vision into action".

The shadow chancellor insisted he would not make "promises I cannot keep or plans I cannot pay for". "We will not build the New Jerusalem on a mountain of debt," said Mr Brown whose reputation for caution has attracted criticism from the left and big unions.

But there was little criticism as he committed Labour to a £75-a-week incentive to employers to take on the long-term jobless and to use his proposed £3 billion windfall tax on utility profits to give job opportunities to more than 600,000 young people — a move in the direction of critics who have demanded employment targets.

Calling them "this betrayed generation, the generation of Thatcher's children, now Major's young forgotten unemployed", Mr Brown declared: "I say no young person should spend years without a job — and under Labour no young person will."

Mr Brown also took the tax war into the Tory camp, upbraiding the "greed, waste and blind short-termism" of the Government. He announced that, if the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, declined to cut the 8 per cent VAT on domestic fuel in his Budget then Chancellor Brown will make it a priority to cut it to the minimum 5 per cent allowed under European law.

It would save the average family £32 a year — and help the poorest most. The headline-grabbing VAT challenge, the first precise detail of fiscal plans Labour will announce before the election, was meant to signal the Blair team's commitment to lower and middle income families.

Earlier, the Labour leadership completed a series of manoeuvres to minimise damaging rebellions at the party conference. But it refused to back down over what Mr Blair called the "ultra-leftist" candidacy of Liz Davies, whose adoption as candidate in the winnable Leeds North East seat was blocked by the NEC last week.

Denouncing Ms Davies's record and her association with the Labour magazine Briefing — "a faction that has been personally abusive and vitriolic about senior members of the party over a long period of time" — he said that no rival party would tolerate a candidate who said the leader's politics were treachery.

Supporters of the Islington councillor demanded her reinstatement, but Mr Blair said: "I don't believe it's legitimate for people, in effect, to piggy-back on my back and the back of the Labour party, in order to get into Parliament and not be properly part of the parliamentary party."

The 31-year-old lawyer, an instant heroine on the leftwing conference fringe, predicted that the conference "will support me because they believe the Labour party should be a broad church". She protested that she had been excluded solely on political grounds. Mr Blair and his shadow cabinet allies agreed.

Mr Blair resisted pressure to make specific commitments on economic policies up to 18 months ahead of a likely election, while insisting that Labour had a detailed series of radical policies, ranging from constitutional reform and crime policy to education. But he said that it was reasonable for voters to ask if the party planned any income tax changes.

"There will be no question of us going into an election with the intention of doing something to the top rate of income tax without announcing it," he said.

## In Brief

FEARS are rising that National Lottery cash will be used to plug growing gaps in the welfare state after the lottery's charities board announced it would fund health, education and housing schemes. The latest handouts included £40 million to help turn Portsmouth harbour into a rival for Sydney.

MAX HASTINGS, long-serving editor of the Daily Telegraph, has resigned to edit the London Evening Standard and ignited a battle among Britain's leading rightwing journalists to succeed him.

NEW research has revealed that nicotine may reduce the risk of heart disease when taken through a skin patch.

LORD NOLAN'S inquiry into standards in public life is heading for a clash with chief executives of England's training and enterprise councils over their refusal to make information about sensitive contracts freely available.

JONATHAN AITKEN, who resigned as chief secretary to the Treasury two months ago, was interviewed under caution by Customs officials about his involvement in a British defence company that illegally supplied weapons to Iran in the 1980s.

A CHILD on a life-support machine died during a 25-minute power failure which hit the intensive care units at Guy's hospital in London.

THE Ministry of Defence "reluctantly" agreed to pay £150,000 compensation to an officer forced to quit the army when she became pregnant.

EXPERIMENTAL flying squads of expert disciplinarians will be set up to help teachers tackle unruly behaviour in schools, Gillian Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, announced.

TOUGHER degrees and a new "quality forum" were announced by university heads in response to government and public criticism of standards.

THE Government is reviewing vagrancy laws in a plan to change the way society treats drunks and beggars by encouraging police and charities to clear a "hard core" of people sleeping rough on the streets.

THE TRIAL of Rosemary West on 10 murder charges, including her daughter Heather and stepdaughter Charmaine, began at Winchester crown court.

THE Home Office is looking for private finance to build two maximum security prisons to hold dangerous criminals.

# Hawking goes back on time

Tim Radford

IN theory, Professor Stephen Hawking could have popped back and changed what he said a few years ago to make himself appear consistent now. But he didn't.

Instead, he suggests, in a foreword to a new book, The Physics of Star Trek, that time travel just might after all be possible. The emphasis is on might.

The argument about whether time is an each-way bet or a one-way trip has been making heads spin for 1,500 years, ever since St Augustine asked whether time was a temporary thing, or whether it had been around for ever. Exactly 100 years ago, H G Wells proposed a bit of direct investigation in his novel The Time Machine.

Theoretical physicists have been intrigued by the problem that if you can wander in any direction in space (which is really space-time) then perhaps you could wander in time.

Hawking, inheritor of Sir Isaac Newton's chair at Cambridge, originally played with the idea that time might run backwards if the universe stopped expanding and collapsed in on itself.

The problem was, how would you know? Your thoughts would be running backwards, too. But somewhere in the late eighties, during and after the publication of his huge hardback best-seller, A Brief History Of Time, the debate started hotting up.

Hawking's argument was simple and brutal: the laws of physics simply did not permit time travel. There were such things as wormholes in space, connecting different parts of the universe, but they could not be used for time travel. Others were not convinced.

Wormholes are hypothetical warps in space, predicted by Einstein. If they are warps in space, then they must be warps in time too. They are, however, a billion times smaller than an atom and exist for an unimaginably brief moment. So spotting one, keeping it open and enlarging the aperture would be tricky.

Another scientist, Richard Gott, of Princeton, proposed that if you took two infinitely long and mysterious things left over from the Big Bang called cosmic strings, and moved them past each other fast, you might end up with a theoretical time machine.

No one, however, has seen even one cosmic string, let alone two infinitely long ones.

# UK is top nuclear dumper

Ron MacKay

BRITAIN has dumped nearly 75,000 tons of nuclear waste into the North Atlantic — more than three-quarters of all the radioactive materials ever dumped by western powers at sea — and at least 1 million tons of obsolete munitions, chemical weapons and deadly nerve gases.

The atomic waste, categorised low and intermediate level, was dumped at 15 sea sites between 1949 and 1982, according to an unpublished report by the International Atomic Energy Authority.

The sites ranged from Hurd Deep, west of the Bay of Biscay, to the English Channel and Rockall Deep, a 2,800ft hole in the seabed 150 miles south-west of the Western Isles in Scotland. The Attlee Labour government began the dumping in 1949, sinking nine tons of waste from Britain's nuclear weapons programme in Hurd Deep. This was intended to be a temporary solution but by 1951, and the return of the Conservatives under Winston Churchill, the dumping programme was in full flow.

Britain is responsible for 76 per cent of all the known waste dumped at sea by 13 western nations. In contrast, the United States, which dumped almost all of the Pacific Ocean waste, accounts for less than 2 per cent of the world's total.

Meanwhile, hundreds of phosphorous bombs have been washed up on the beaches of Wigtownshire, the east coast of Ireland and the Isle of Man. Fishermen report that on fine days in a fishing ground known as The Corner, between Britain and Ireland, bubbles can be seen breaking the surface, accompanied by heavy gaseous smells.

Between 1946 and 1956 Britain carried out Operation Sandcastle, disposing of an estimated 35,000 tons of chemical weapons in the sea, including the deadly nerve gases Sarin and Tabun. In 1955, ships containing Hitler's nerve gas agents were scuttled 80 miles off the Irish coast.

Dr John Large, an engineer and nuclear consultant, said: "It is very difficult to give an overall assessment of what has been done. But it is not as if you can take a vacuum cleaner and clean it up. It is a lost cause." The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, which undertakes monitoring of the sea, said that radioactivity levels at dump sites were low.

Next year scientists from the Scottish Office's Marine Laboratory are to scan the sea bed off south west Scotland with underwater cameras and will analyse samples. — *The Observer*



# Greed charge over Grid sale

Simon Beavis

NEW allegations of boardroom greed surfaced last week as the Government continued to promote the sale of the National Grid, with the promise that the deal would mean £50 off all electricity bills.

Labour immediately attacked the proposed sale — due to be launched in December — by claiming that the Grid chairman, David Jefferies, was benefiting from a near £2 million pay and perks package while a further £2 million was being shared out among other top directors.

Part of Mr Jefferies's personal windfall will be a special dividend of nearly £200,000 from the Grid sale, while other directors together stand to net £125,000, taking the total remuneration of the company's top bosses to more than £4 million.

The four National Grid directors at the centre of greed allegations are Mr Jefferies, the engineering services director, Eric Chefneux, the finance director, John Uttley, and the power network director, Colin Gibson. They have refused to justify their decision to hold on to generous perks, despite mounting political pressure for them to waive the payments.

Chancellor Kenneth Clarke took up the cudgels for the Government following earlier vain attempts by Energy Minister, Tim Eggar, to get the four to give up their entitlements to the special dividends. Speaking on BBC radio, Mr Clarke said: "People in charge of companies should exercise reasonable constraint and have regard to the public relations of their company." He added: "But that is a matter for them and the shareholders of their company."

The uproar has managed to undo months of work by the Greenbury committee, the government-backed group of business leaders who made a series of controversial recommendations aimed at curbing boardroom excess in the privatised utilities.

With a fierce £1.7 billion bid battle developing around the North-west's power group Norweb, the Government is acutely aware of the political damage to its privatisation policies.

Labour and consumer groups are unimpressed, even though the rebate for customers is five times better than the 12 regional electricity companies — owners of the Grid since privatisation in 1990 — were initially prepared to offer.

The shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, said: "Consumers will be dismayed that they get £50 while David Jefferies gets five additional bonuses to give him nearly £2 million."

Labour later intensified pressure on the Government, by calling for an inquiry into how the group's value has soared because of "lenient" regulation.

The call for an investigation comes from Peter Hain, Labour MP for Neath, who has written to Trade Secretary Ian Lang and the Commons Trade and Industry Select Committee to demand that they look again at the 1993 review of Grid prices by the industry regulator, Professor Stephen Littlechild.

Labour insists that the value of the Grid has risen from around £1 billion when it was given to the 12 RECs as a privatisation dowry in 1990 to £5 billion now.

● The bid frenzy in the privatised utilities erupted again as Southern Electric announced it was in talks with an unnamed bidder — possibly National Power — about an agreed £2.5 billion takeover, and as speculation swept the City that the first bid for a water company was imminent.

Southern is the seventh of the 12 regional power companies to be courted by a bidder and news of the talks prompted new calls from Labour for a Monopolies Commission inquiry.

Those calls are likely to intensify with rumours that the French giant Lyonnaise des Eaux could within days be given government clearance to launch a hostile bid of about £700 million for Northumbrian Water, having agreed to cut water charges by some 15 per cent. Northumbrian's shares raced up by 40p to 995p on the talk.

Comment, page 10
Power craze, page 19

# Islanders to fight N-tests

Martin Walker in Washington

DESCENDANTS of the Bounty mutineers are being stirred to a new revolt against British authority: a lawsuit attacking the Government for not protecting them from French nuclear tests at Mururoa.

But with one phone for the 62 Pitcairn islanders, it is far from sure they know of the new mutiny Greenpeace is whipping up on their behalf.

Greenpeace last week received, from Geoffrey Robertson QC, a legal opinion it had sought as the basis of a lawsuit to be brought by the islanders or by Greenpeace on their behalf.

Mr Robertson argues that the tests were in breach of European law and the UN convention on the law of the sea; that the Government is in a position to protect its nationals from risk of harm by enforcing France's legal obligations under the Euratom treaty; and that "any unreasonable failure or refusal by the UK Government to take such action is likely to be amenable to judicial review in the English courts".

If there is evidence the Government did not act over the tests because of collaboration with the French nuclear weapons programme, that would amount to bad faith and allow English courts to overrule any claim to government prerogative on matters of policy.

The Pitcairn Islands are the closest inhabited land to Mururoa and the islanders are thus most at risk. In addition, as British subjects, they are entitled to demand action.

# Indonesian deals row

David Harrison

BRITAIN has been accused of providing training for one of the most ruthless police forces in the world, in return for trade and arms deals.

British-trained officers in the paramilitary Indonesia National Police, which routinely beats and tortures government opponents, have risen to senior positions.

Ann Clwyd, Labour MP for Cynon Valley, said the affair was "scandalous" and training should be halted. "The Government is propping up a despicable regime with one of the worst human rights records in the world, in the name of doing deals. This training is a moral disgrace," she said.

Human rights organisations also condemned the deal as "utterly irresponsible". Sidney Jones, Indonesia expert at Human Rights Watch/Asia said: "The police are part of the armed forces, responsible for torture on a routine basis."

The United States axed training for the Indonesian military in 1993 because of human rights violations in East Timor, most notably the November 1991 massacre of civilians at Santa Cruz cemetery.

British weapons play a key role in preserving Indonesia's 20-year-old illegal occupation of East Timor.

The Foreign Office said aid to Indonesia was aimed at "encouraging the growth of democratic institutions in developing countries". It hoped the training would "encourage correct policing procedure and the observance of human rights".

Mrs Clwyd, who has spent six months studying aid and human rights in Indonesia, said this was "wholly bogus". — *The Observer*

# Talent and integrity

OBITUARY
Susan Fleetwood

SUSAN FLEETWOOD, who has died aged 51 after a 10-year battle against cancer — a struggle known to only a few people — was one of the most important and gifted actresses of her generation. Her name was a byword for integrity, quality and humanity in countless productions at the Royal Shakespeare Company and the Royal National Theatre for the past two decades.

Lately she had reached a wide audience on television in the series Chandler and Co. And she was admired for a string of impeccable, funny and attractive performances in such TV series as The Jewel In The Crown, The Buddha Of Suburbia, and Summer's Lease, opposite John Gielgud and Michael Pennington.

She was particularly impressive in the recent BBC TV adaptation of Jane Austen's Persuasion. Her beauty was apparent, but it glowed within as well. She always conveyed a sense of intellect in her acting.

One of her closest friends and associates at the RSC was Terry Hands, with whom she lived for some years early in her career. Hands directed her in 1991 as Beatrice in Much Ado About Nothing and Madame Arkadina in Chekhov's The Seagull. Both were performances of matchless, impregnable beauty, tempered in fire and struck with a golden wit.

Born in St Andrews, Scotland, hers was a peripatetic childhood — her father was high-ranking officer in the armed forces — and she attended 16 schools, finally a convent in Kent. She trained at Rada and toured Arizona in 1964 with a Rada company playing Rosalind in As You Like It.



A performance of matchless beauty . . . Susan Fleetwood's Beatrice in the RSC's Much Ado About Nothing PHOTOGRAPH: DOUGLAS H JEFFREY

The family home in Salisbury, Wiltshire, where she died, was a haven for actors and artists over many years. Her brother is the rock musician Mick Fleetwood of Fleetwood Mac, and her sister the artist Sally Fleetwood.

Her first professional engagement was in 1964 at the Liverpool Everyman, which Hands had just founded with Peter James and Martin Jenkins. She followed Hands to the RSC three years later.

If any one actress came to embody the intelligent commitment to the classic repertoire in the subsidised theatre following the example of Dame Peggy Ashcroft, it was Fleetwood.

In 1975 she joined the National Theatre under Peter Hall and achieved one of her most celebrated triumphs as Pegeen Mike in an otherwise all-Irish cast directed by Bill Bryden. She formed an abiding friendship with Bryden's assistant director, Sebastian Graham-Jones, with whom she lived for some years.

In 1985 she made The Sacrifice in Sweden, directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. As the critic David Thomson says, this movie "has some of the most glorious extended shots in film history". The director himself was suffering from cancer, and was in exile. Fleetwood's role as an ideal woman in an unkind world meant a lot to her. It shows in the performance. Tarkovsky fell in love with Fleetwood — they bonded seriously, but were never lovers.

There would always be danger lurking within those pleasant shallows of expression, and Fleetwood was the sort of performer to summon all her strength and lungs to biff opponents off the stage and pin the audience in their seats. Fiona Shaw and Juliet Stevenson came after, and now we await the continuing careers of Emma Fielding, Imogen Stubbs and Josette Simon. They all owe a great deal to the career of Susan Fleetwood.

Michael Coveney

Susan Maureen Fleetwood, actress, born September 21, 1944; died September 29, 1995

# BR on wrong track

Richard Boston

IT ALL started at Euston. Under cover of night, over a weekend, the vandals knocked down the Doric Arch. This was part of a scheme for a new Euston station which incorporated the novel feature of having no seating. British Rail explained that if there were benches, people would only go and sit on them.

Since then there has been an endless succession of doltishness wrapped in verbiage, euphemism, officialese, periphrasis and circumlocution. Over the years passengers (who are now customers) have been able to pick and choose between "adverse weather conditions" (which means winter), "leaves on line" (autumn), "leaf-fall season" (autumn), "low ground adhesion" (leaves on line) "unforeseen circumstances" (cock-up) and "wrong kind of snow" (surrealists at work).

And now it's the Great Britain Passenger Railway Timetable; 2,200 pages of it, costing £7.50, weighing in at 3lb on the kitchen scales. It is bigger than War And Peace and with far more errors. So many errors that the little darlings have had to rush out a FREE SUPPLEMENT consisting of 57 pages of corrections. Hot on the heels of which has come an even bigger FREE SECOND SUPPLEMENT of 246 pages of further corrections with a SPECIAL NOTE on the back saying that This Second Supplement Is NOT Cumulative And The First Supplement Should Be Retained.

Good thinking: They could become collector's items. At this rate the whole set could eventually assume Britannica proportions.

"Bradshaw! thou shouldst be living at this hour, Railtrack hath need of thee." Older readers may remember that Bradshaw was a byword for accuracy. George Bradshaw, born 1801, produced his first railway timetable in 1839, usefully bringing together the schedules of the many competing rail companies (which, come to think of it, is what is needed now). It was only 18mo (octodecimo) in size, bound in cloth, price sixpence. The next year's edition was bigger and cost a shilling. The year after that it became a monthly and was world famous.

But were his efforts misdirected? The late AJP Taylor memorably argued in his history of the first world war that that most dreadful of conflicts was "imposed on the statesmen of Europe by railway timetables".

The German mobilisation was based on rail, and the timetables were simply too good. They did not allow for error or an element of bluff. This left no room for diplomacy. Once started, the process was irrevocable.

If the German timetables in 1914 had been the work of Railtrack 1995 then the first world war might never have got going.

# A smokescreen of synthetic rage

SO, WHAT is "outrageous" — the decision over the Gibraltar killings by the European Court of Human Rights or the foaming reaction to it of the British government? The court found in favour of the Government on two allegations but against it on a third. The negative verdict was reached by a one-vote majority. None of this suggests bias on the court's part, but rather a careful exercise of judgment on a very difficult issue. As to the margin, Britain would hardly have complained if the vote had gone the other way.

The principle is a fundamental one. When people are deprived of life by the state the very highest standards are demanded. No more force may be used than that which is "absolutely necessary". And if death results, whether through deliberate action or negligence, this must be rigorously examined. The deaths on the Rock on March 6, 1988, raised legitimate questions as to whether these standards had been applied. Attempts to examine these properly were frustrated by the hysteria whipped up by the Thatcher government and the use of blocking certificates.

Last week the hysteria was revived, with equal deliberation, by Michael Heseltine, who described the court's verdict variously as "incomprehensible", "ludicrous" and "extraordinary". He did not explain just why a group of international jurists should behave in this way. Nor did he deal with the points of substance raised by the decision but turned it into a nakedly political issue. He complained that the court had ignored the delicate situation in Northern Ireland today — as if that should influence their judgment on what happened seven years ago. And he took aim at Labour for failing to denounce the verdict. The Convention on Human Rights is supposed "to raise the standards of governments across Europe". But where British standards have been found wanting, they — not we — are apparently to blame.

This response is silly even from the Government's point of view. The court dismissed the claim that there had been a premeditated plan "at the highest level of command" to kill the IRA suspects — ie, there was no official "shoot to kill" policy. It accepted that the soldiers honestly believed that they had to prevent the detonation of a bomb. The court had no difficulty in concluding either that the three who died were intending to plant a bomb (and hence that their families are not entitled to compensation). However, the court did decide that in planning the operation the authorities had shown "a lack of appropriate care", and had therefore violated Article 2 of the convention. In plain language, there was no need to shoot the suspects. This is exactly what many independent critics have been arguing all along.

The court's conclusion may be queried by individuals who think otherwise but the Government has a duty in international law both to accept and act on it. Instead, there are disturbing signs that this issue will be trampled under the stampeding hooves of Europhobia. There have already been dubious media stirrings against renewal of the individual right to appeal to the Commission on Human Rights. British lawyers helped write the Convention and Britain was the first to sign it. It will be shameful if the Government is tempted to withdraw under a smokescreen of synthetic rage.

# The comfort of strangers

COMFORT women for the troops is an easy target for outrage when the activities of the Japanese Imperial Army 50 years ago are being discussed. But Japan today has become incensed over a more contemporary aspect: the sexual behaviour of US servicemen stationed on its soil. The case of alleged rape of a 12-year-old girl in Okinawa, for which three US soldiers have now been indicted, has fuelled fierce protests with calls for the closure of US bases on the island. Japan's prime minister, Tomiichi Murayama, made a remarkable intervention, pronouncing it "extremely regrettable" and demanding that the US take steps to avoid a recurrence. This may appear a tough demand: can military discipline really deter soldiers from crimes of this kind?

But the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, and the defence secretary, William Perry, have already pledged themselves to take steps to prevent such crimes. There are two special factors driving both Mr Murayama and the US administration. First is their need to deflect Japanese calls for the revision of the terms governing US servicemen on Okinawa — and even for the outright abolition of the bases. The second factor in Japanese minds is the high incidence of crime among US servicemen and the sleazy atmosphere of the sex industry that surrounds the bases there.

Prostitution around US bases in Asia — South Korea, the Philippines and Japan — has been effectively legalised since their establishment. Today both in Korea and the Philippines the US cooperates with the bar owners and in medical checks of bar girls. In Japan there is less direct involvement — partly because the system is controlled by yakuza gangsters. But it is regarded with indulgence by the base authorities except for relatively recent worries about the spread of Aids.

Is it right to compare the wartime "comfort women" with a situation where the prostitutes have not been forced at bayonet point to provide sexual services but are being paid? The reality is that — questions of morality aside — it is not an equal exchange. A recent study of prostitution and the US military labels it "sexual imperialism" and quotes appalling first-hand accounts*. Women are lured from the rural areas or abroad, bound by permanent debt, forced to have abortions, and subjected to sexual humiliation by their clients. Whatever happens to the present rape case, this should be a matter for longer term shame.

*Let the Good Times Roll, by Saundra Sturdevant & Brenda Stoltzfus, London, CIIR, £14.99

# Gridlock, stock and barrel

A TRIUMPH for privatisation or a monumental rip-off? The National Grid — which owns all the electricity supply lines in England and Wales — is to be hived off from the regional electricity companies (RECs) into a separate corporation (oiled by £1 billion in sweeteners, or £45.95p for each of its 21 million customers). This raises fundamental questions about privatisation. The RECs were sold in 1990 for £8 billion (paid in installments over three years). This was something of a scandal at the time because the issue was so underpriced. But nobody in the City paid much attention to the fact that the RECs were at the same time handed ownership of the National Grid, valued in the books at anything between £780 million and £1.6 billion.

Those same vast assets will now probably be sold for around £4.5 billion. Tim Eggar, the energy minister, argues that the National Grid is now worth more because "privatisation allowed the Grid to show what it could achieve when set free from the constraints of the public sector". It is true that productivity gains (job losses) in the electricity and other privatised industries have been much greater than expected at the time they were sold. But they were not as large as the gains recorded by the companies which remained in public ownership. Maybe something deeper than mere ownership was responsible. That something could have been government-imposed performance criteria which forced the utilities constantly to improve their efficiency by raising prices by less than the rise in inflation. The utilities soon found they could do this and still make huge profits.

Was privatisation necessary to achieve these efficiency gains? It is a common belief that privatisation is a free financial lunch. Not so. In the year before privatisation the Exchequer received £1.8 billion *from* the electricity industry. This was generated by steep price rises to make privatisation attractive. It came in the form of negative borrowing (ie, the industry was lending to the Treasury).

The Government received £8 billion over three years from privatisation but had to give up the £1.8 billion income it might have received each year from the industry. The one-off privatisation booty has long since been spent but the Treasury still has to find (from taxes or borrowing) the money it would have received from the industry if it had still been publicly owned. The utilities could have been a major source of revenue to finance education and other priorities. All this belongs to history. But it is worth reminding ourselves how privatisation has created its own myths, which need to be punctured from time to time.

# Foreign Secretary who wants to come home

Hugo Young

MALCOLM RIFKIND is not slow to make his mark as Foreign Secretary. Uniquely in the annals of government, he has defined the reduction of British influence as a central plank of his foreign policy. This epic moment deserves more attention.

Rifkind argues that the national interest will be increased by a reduction of British voice in the world. "Occasionally," he says, "it may be appropriate to accept a loss of influence if that is the only way we can protect our interests." Parading through the UN last week, soundbiting from the corridors of a Bosnia peace process that puts Britain and Europe on the sidelines, he shows few signs of a new humility. The booming condescension has not abated. But Palmerston, thou shoulds't be witnessing how low we've sunk.

Coming from the sanctum, such iconoclasm may strike some people as seductive. Perhaps it banishes the years of pretence, most recently venerated through Douglas Hurd's incessant mantra about Britain punching above her weight. The Foreign Office has lived for decades off the mythic power of Britain's history, and former empire, and worldly wisdom, all combining to magnify that precious influence. Those who believe that this has produced fantasies of self-regard, not to mention mismanagement of scarce resources, must be pleased to hear from the Foreign Secretary that we are preparing to withdraw from the field.

After all, says the Rifkind Doctrine, we have an instructive model. "The Swiss have undoubtedly reduced their influence," he hymns, "by declining to join the UN or the EU." But they have served their national interest. Thus, "nuclear Switzerland", previously a totemic construct confined to the private musings of Europhobes struggling to think what Britain might look like if she left the European Union, edges into view via the inaugural address of Conservatism's most important foreign policy-maker.

What he's saying is that losing influence in Europe should no longer be regarded as a fate he strives officiously to avoid. It would be an acceptable happening, a new but benevolent twist in a long history that began with influence abdicated by Britain's refusal to join the Common Market, and is now marked by Britain's failure to impose itself decisively on 14 other member states. Influence? Schminfluence, Rifkind's the first to say. If we cannot get our way, it will be in our national interest to abandon the attempt.

This is music to the ears for which it's mainly tuned. The anti-Europeans in the Tory party have hitherto been discomfited by the argument from "influence". While disliking almost everything that comes out of Brussels, the more moderate have recognised the case Mr Hurd never ceased to make, that these things would be much worse if Britain wasn't at the table to put a stop to continental excesses. Or, occasionally, to shape Europe in the British interest, which Mrs Thatcher did by pressing for majority voting to create the single market. Being inside the tent, hectoring and complaining and aggressively suggesting, was a stance the baroness never contemplated giving up. But now, we are warned, it will be different.

The issues that might create a preferential option for exit have yet to be identified. Maybe a majority EU decision to create a more unified foreign policy would send the Foreign Secretary stalking into the wilderness. Alternatively, it might be a common determination, with but one dissenter, to advance to a single policy for asylum. Any number of opt-outs suggest themselves. Perhaps a compromise we don't like about the range of majority voting will cause London to say the national interest directs us to remove our influence from the argument. Or what about the European Parliament? If its powers grow, shall we withdraw?

It doesn't take much thought to see that these would be complicated matters. Formally surrendering influence, any more than influence has already been sacrificed by the hostilities of the Thatcher-Major years, might be hard to accomplish. The Rifkind Doctrine, however, marks another stage in the surrender of British foreign policy to Conservative Party politics. The party that once existed to uphold and glorify British influence in the world must now be satisfied by the promise, bizarre and unprecedented, that it will if necessary be reduced.

WHERE this is not dishonest, it is ominous. The dishonesty lies in the fiction Rifkind is peddling. The fiction is not new, but one had imagined it was laid to rest long ago. It says that Britain can somehow create an influence-free zone between her and continental Europe, in which she pursues her national interest separately from developments in the EU. This is what Churchill and Bevin thought when they stopped Britain getting involved with "Europe" in the 1950s. It's what Macmillan and Heath, Wilson and Thatcher, all came to understand was an impossibility. Piously disclaiming British influence in Europe can never now foreclose the overwhelming influence of Europe on Britain. For a Foreign Secretary to aver that he may no longer wish to participate in the framing of that influence is party appeasement masquerading as diplomatic sagacity.

More disturbing is the voice of emergent isolationism. This is disguised in all manner of pretences. The lauding of Asia, for example, is a theme sensibly reiterated by ministers. Nobody can dispute that the economy of a trading country must attune itself to competition from the Asian tiger nations. But presenting this as some kind of alternative to Europe is a cheap nonsense designed to play to the phobes' gallery. The Rifkind sub-doctrine, going on about a transatlantic community, is another distraction that pretends there's some sort of "global" alternative to the appalling straitjacket of Europe.

Once a strong European, he may never have been a good bet as a man to stick to that position. But some things are elementary. One is that Britain-contra-Europe has no influence in the world: the other that to disdain influence in Europe is to retreat behind the cuckoo-clock.



The Washington Post



# Jury Invited to See O.J. as Racist Victim

As the jury considers its verdict in the O.J. Simpson murder trial, **Joel Achenbach** reviews a case steeped in racist accusations

AND SO, AS YOU STRUGGLE TO REACH A VERDICT, CONCENTRATE ON THE N-WORD AND DISREGARD THE G-WORD.

HIGH ABOVE the Earth, in a jetliner flying from North Carolina to California, Johnnie Cochran had an epiphany. It was a summer day a couple of months ago and he was flying home with the Fuhrman tapes, the secret weapon in his defense of O.J. Simpson.

But at that moment, he said later, he realized this wasn't just a murder case. There was a "higher reason" he had taken on the defense of Simpson. Cochran saw himself as part of a historic struggle. This was about civil rights for every African American.

Cochran spoke of this revelation last month in Washington to attendees of the Congressional Black Caucus annual convention. Lady Justice isn't blind or colorblind, he said. Look at the numbers: African Americans make up half of the nation's prison population. "The vision of America," he said, "has become barbed wire from sea to shining sea."

There was a time when people, perhaps especially white people, would argue vehemently that the O.J. Simpson case was not about race. The argument went that Simpson's identity was that of an American hero, a Hall of Fame running back, a Hertz pitchman, an actor, a celebrity — and only irrelevantly a black man.

That view now seems naive. The case has gone to the jury with race as the overpowering framework. During closing arguments, Cochran and prosecutor Chris Darden, both of whom are black, frequently seemed to be addressing the nine blacks on the jury. Darden said Cochran's closing argument was "an appeal to part of us that only some of us know about."

The prosecution had wanted it to be a case that told a story of domestic violence, about an abusive relationship that after 17 years culminated in murder. The defense wanted to tell a story about racism. The defense won the thematic battle. It's a reminder that for all the divisions in society over gender and class, there is still nothing as intensely divisive as race.

The scene outside the courthouse a week last Friday was tense and unruly. A crowd chanted "Free O.J." and "Go, Johnnie, Go" as Cochran arrived with five Nation of Islam bodyguards. "Guilty, guilty, DNA, DNA," chanted several protesters from the Jewish Defense League. One held a banner reading "Cochran, Nation of Islam, Fuhrman — racists come in all colors."

Meanwhile President Clinton has weighed in, telling NBC-TV last week that he hopes the case doesn't divide America along racial lines: "I'm concerned about it, and I hope the American people will not let this become some symbol of the larger racial issue in our country."

But it is already symbolic, though people will disagree on what's being symbolized. Genethia Hayes, interim executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Los Angeles, said at the weekend she disagreed with Clinton's remark because the case raises broad questions about race relations. "I think it has civil rights implications simply because this is an opportunity yet again for people to look at what we would characterize as institutionalized racism," she said.

African American trial observers say they knew all along that race would be the central issue in the case.

"I was the first one here to say, long before anyone else said it, when everybody else said, 'Oh no, this is nothing but a murder case.' I said you're kidding yourself, you're being not only naive, but you're living in a fantasy world," says Earl Ofari Hutchinson, an African American writer who has done television commentary on the case for KCBS in Los Angeles.

The prosecution began its presentation in January by recounting Simpson's history of spousal abuse. That story line had witnesses, 911 calls, photographs of a beaten Nicole Brown Simpson. Nicole Simpson had told friends that if she were killed, O.J. did it. She predicted her death, and left evidence of the abuse in a safe deposit box — a message, prosecutors said this week, intended for the inevitable jury in a murder trial.

**The prosecution had wanted it to be a case that told a story of domestic violence**

And O.J. Simpson might have seemed at first an unlikely candidate for a racially charged trial. He was married to a white woman, lived in a mostly white neighborhood, was a member of a mostly white country club, and counted as his close friends innumerable rich white businessmen.

He lived a long way from his roots — from Potrero Hill in San Francisco — and even a long way from downtown Los Angeles, where his fate is in the hands of a mostly black jury.

Now Cochran is asking that jury to strike, in the name of a Brentwood millionaire, a mighty blow against racism.

Hutchinson notes the irony of Simpson being the "flash point" for a racial problem in America. "O.J. Simpson would have been the last person on the planet that I would have picked to be a litmus test on the criminal justice system and how it operates in terms of African Americans," Hutchinson said. But he added: "O.J. Simpson is still ultimately seen as a black man."

The Simpson case, Cochran said in Washington, is another milestone in a legal struggle that includes the Dred Scott decision, Plessy vs. Ferguson, Brown vs. Board of Education and the Rodney King beating.

"Maybe there is a reason why we're here. Maybe you're the right people at the right time at the right place to say: 'No more,' " Cochran thundered before the jurors.

The next day Darden told them, "They've interjected this racism, and now they want you to become impassioned and be upset. And they want you to make quantum leaps in logic and in judgment. They want you to say Fuhrman is a racist, he planted the glove."

Darden cited Martin Luther King Jr.: "King once wrote that we should never succumb to bitterness."

Race emerged gradually as the key to the defense strategy. At first Simpson was represented only by white lawyers; Johnnie Cochran was added later, and by January he had become the leader of the defense team. After Cochran signed on, the prosecution team brought on Darden. Cochran protested the move, telling Judge Lance Ito that it was a racial maneuver to appeal to black jurors.

The New Yorker magazine first reported more than a year ago that the defense would focus on racism and specifically on Fuhrman, who said he found a bloody glove behind Simpson's home that matched a glove at the murder scene. Robert Shapiro, Simpson's original lead attorney, distanced himself from the race card, angering his co-counsel by telling reporters that he didn't think the case was about race at all.

There was also a legal battle over whether Fuhrman's racism could be revealed to the jury. The detective had a documented history of racist attitudes, but much of what was in his personnel file was more than a decade old. Ito earlier this year ruled that most of that material was inadmissible as evidence.

F. Lee Bailey convinced the judge that the defense had a right to grill Fuhrman about his racial attitudes. But Bailey's much-ballyhooed confrontation with the detective seemed to fizzle. Fuhrman was unflappable. Trial observers concluded that he had won the duel.

**Polls show a stark contrast between how whites and blacks view the trial**

But Bailey had asked a question that would come back to haunt the prosecution. "You say under oath that you have not addressed any black person as a 'nigger' or spoken about black people as 'niggers' in the past 10 years, Detective Fuhrman?" asked Bailey.

"That's what I'm saying, sir," Fuhrman said.

He was lying.

Cochran got the proof after going to court in North Carolina. On tapes made by a professor working on a screenplay, Fuhrman not only uses the racial epithet 41 times but talks openly about planting evidence.

Polls show, and have shown from the beginning of the case, a stark contrast between how whites and blacks view the Simpson trial.

A new Dateline NBC poll reports that only 2 percent of blacks in America would find Simpson guilty of first-degree murder, and 15 percent would find him guilty of second-degree murder; 59 percent would acquit him. For whites, 40 percent would convict him of first-degree murder; 17 percent of second-degree murder; 18 percent would acquit.



# Ross Perot, Gadfly of U.S. Politics

EDITORIAL

WELL, there he goes again. It was hard to believe that Ross Perot would sit by and let Gen. Colin Powell grab all the attention, gain a near monopoly on the third-party talk and emerge as the leading hope for the politically disheartened.

Perot did not disappoint. Using his favored podium, Larry King Live, Perot seized his share of the headlines by announcing plans to form a third party, the Independence Party. And, naturally, this whole effort has nothing to do with him or his personal ambitions.

"Now keep in mind," Perot insisted. "I am one vote in this whole thing."

This was too much even for Perot's favorite interlocutor. "Aw, Ross, come on," King replied. Come on, indeed.

The maddening thing about Perot is that for all his shortcomings, he can be good at highlighting important issues. He forced the budget deficit onto center stage during the 1992 presidential campaign. His kick now is political reform — reform of the way campaigns are paid for, and of the lobbying and gift rules.

It's an important cause, and if Perot's latest excursion into the spotlight pushes Congress to act on it, good for him.

As for the general idea of third party, we are firmly and unequivocally agnostic. In general, it's better for a political movement to be a party than to be a cause driven by a single personality. A party can, in theory at least, provide some structures of accountability.

Up to now, Perot has pretty much been able to fire, replace or excommunicate followers who did not follow his wishes. But it's not at all clear to us that the answers to the country's difficulties are automatically more likely to come from a third party, or that Republicans and Democrats need to be consigned to the scrap heap.

What is hardest to take is Perot's "Zelig" act of appearing, disappearing and reappearing on the scene at his own convenience. He rarely answers the hard questions about whatever he happens to be proposing, usually prefering to duck behind aphorisms about albino monkeys. He constantly stokes discontent while always trying to channel it through movements he effectively controls and finances.

Above all, we wish that once, just once, Perot might come right out and admit that yes, he is (not unlike other politicians) trying to make himself the center of attention, and that yes, he just might be doing all this because he still hasn't given up on being president.

Instead, he insists, "It's nothing to do with me." Does he really think anybody believes that?

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 8 1995

# CIA Officers Fired in Guatemala Affair

**R. Jeffrey Smith**

CIA DIRECTOR John M. Deutch said last week that the spy agency violated the law in the early 1990s by keeping Congress in the dark about its ties to a Guatemalan military officer linked to two murders, and announced that he had fired two senior CIA officers and disciplined eight others for their involvement in the wrongdoing.

Deutch was quoted by two senators as telling a closed hearing of the Select Committee on Intelligence that he agreed with the panel that CIA employees had "deliberately withheld" information from Congress regarding secret CIA payments to the military officer, which the agency terminated in 1991.

Terry Ward, the most senior of the ten officials disciplined on Friday last week, was the former chief of the Latin American division in the CIA's Directorate of Operations. He has been working at another overseas post and was "asked to retire" by Deutch for failing to "properly manage the division" and ensure that Congress was kept abreast of all its activities, Deutch said.

Frederick Brugger, the other officer whom Deutch told Congress he had "asked to retire," is a former chief of the CIA's station in Guatemala now working at CIA headquarters. He was accused of failing to manage the station properly and also withholding "pertinent information" about the Guatemalan military officer and related matters from the U.S. ambassador and Senate committee staff.

In a letter to Capitol Hill, Deutch called the scandal — which erupted last spring after Rep. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J., disclosed the CIA's ties to the military officer — "a very wrenching experience for the CIA work force," particularly those in the operations directorate. The group, which covertly gathers intelligence and tries to influence foreign affairs, has long been the most secretive, and some critics say, the most hidebound of the agency's four main directorates.

Officials in the directorate first learned in 1991 that the CIA agent in question, Col. Julio Roberto Alpirez, was likely present at the interrogation of a U.S. citizen, innkeeper Michael Devine, who was brutally murdered. They obtained evidence in 1993 that Alpirez also had been present at the interrogation of a Guatemalan guerrilla fighter who had been slain the previous year.

But members of the Senate committee staff were not told of the CIA's ties to Alpirez when they asked questions about Devine's slaying at CIA headquarters in 1992. Although the CIA secretly notified the Justice Department of the connection, no one on Capitol Hill was told until after a hunger strike last year by the guerrilla fighter's widow — American lawyer Jennifer Harbury — provoked the White House to order a detailed review of what the intelligence community knew and when it learned it.

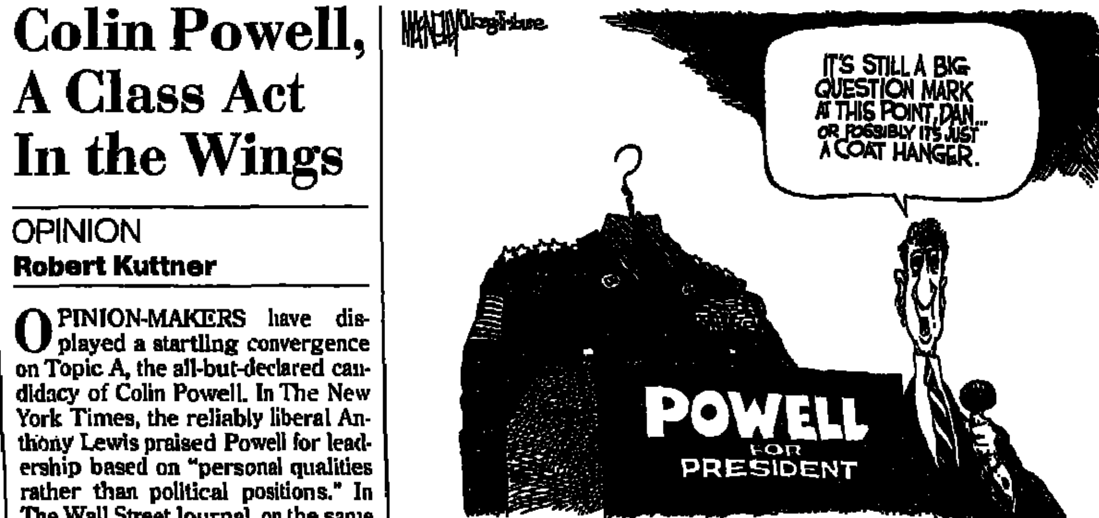
Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., the committee chairman, and Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., the vice chairman, quoted Deutch as agreeing with them for the first time that the CIA officers had "knowingly misled" Congress when they failed to disclose all they knew in 1992. There are "open questions as to criminality," Kerrey said, adding that he intends to ask the Justice Department to rule whether those involved might be subject to prosecution.

But Deutch said in his prepared statement that "there is no evidence that there was a conspiracy not to inform Congress" even though information was deliberately withheld. That conclusion was also reached by President Clinton's Intelligence Oversight Board, an independent group that attributed the failure to CIA mismanagement, the absence of a systematic congressional notification process, and a routine desire by junior officials to protect the identities of all CIA sources.

Deutch, who took office in May after the scandal broke, wrote that he had found compelling evidence that in addition to the agency having kept Congress in the dark, "the actions of some CIA officers did not meet minimum acceptable professional standards" for passing information up the chain of command within the CIA. "A common theme . . . is a lack of candor," he said. "This must not occur again."

# Colin Powell, A Class Act In the Wings

OPINION
**Robert Kuttner**




OPINION-MAKERS have displayed a startling convergence on Topic A, the all-but-declared candidacy of Colin Powell. In The New York Times, the reliably liberal Anthony Lewis praised Powell for leadership based on "personal qualities rather than political positions." In The Wall Street Journal, on the same day, the quirky ultraconservative Arianna Huffington effusively lauded Powell as "a political leader who embodies what most presidential contenders lack: a sense of history and a sense of himself". Anthony Lewis and Arianna Huffington!

And in The New Yorker magazine, Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates, perhaps the dean of black intellectuals, certified that Powell was a true soul brother after all — a strong black man who made it by the lights of white America, but who knew his roots.

There are two possibilities here. Either Powell is, wishfully, all things to all people, and the voters are setting themselves up for more disappointment. Or, possibly, he expresses genuine qualities of leadership and character that voters crave.

Either way, Powell stands to transform American politics. And the two biggest potential losers if Powell gets in the race are another odd couple — Bill Clinton and the Republican right.

A Powell candidacy could derail the incipient right-wing takeover of American political life, and pull politics back toward the center. Powell is basically a Nelson Rockefeller Republican. Ironically, this black son of immigrant parents is the only true patrician in the field.

The right is carrying out its agenda mainly because of a vacuum in the center. Polls show a wide majority of voters opposing most of Newt Gingrich's Contract, the massive cuts in Medicare, the weird constitutional tinkering, and the Republican rollback of consumer and environmental protections.

These measures are being rammed through not because the public is demanding them, but because Clinton is weak and the Democratic Party does not offer a convincing alternative. After two decades of clinging to power mainly via congressional incumbency and special interest money, the Democrats awakened from their 1994 debacle to discover that their grassroots had withered.

The attempt to remake a "New Democrat" party failed spectacularly. In 1994, it was precisely the New Democrats — southern good old boys and northern moderates wedded to business — who were either swept away or who soon found their true home in the GOP.

Since the election, Clinton has sought to recoup by embracing much of the Republican program. The maneuver hasn't worked. It has only weakened the ability of Democrats to resist.

As a result, Clinton is not only a vulnerable chief executive. He is also vulnerable to a collapse of support from core Democratic voters, should Powell get into the race.

In William Greider's famous December 1993 interview with Clinton in Rolling Stone, Greider got himself thrown out of the Oval Office when he quoted one former Clinton supporter asking why Clinton gave people the impression there was nothing he cared about enough "to stand up for and die on."

The flip side of Clinton's fecklessness is that few politicians or voters are willing to die for him. Many Democrats are surprisingly willing to believe that a Powell presidency might be a better bulwark against right-wing domination than a second Clinton term in league with a Republican Congress.

However, the right's current dominance is just as fragile as Clinton's presidency. The conservative press has been vocally debunking a Powell candidacy, because the right has the most to lose from it.

Of course, it remains to be seen just what Powell really stands for. His mentors are Republican. But he is plainly pained at the extremism of today's GOP.

As a Republican primary contender, Powell would likely be too liberal to be nominated. But he'd be a formidable independent. As president, you could imagine him governing with a centrist congressional coalition, rather like Eisenhower with Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson — and marginalizing the hard right.

IT IS a stunning testament to the fragility of the Democratic Party that even many one-time Clinton loyalists are willing to read their hopes into Powell, just as they once read them into Clinton. The outpouring of support is all the more remarkable given Powell's stance on some issues.

Anthony Lewis, for example, has spent the past three years crusading for a tougher stance on Bosnia, yet finds Powell attractive despite the fact that Powell was the virtual architect of the failed Bosnia policy of nonengagement. For my own part, I regret that Powell considers himself a deficit-hawk and offers little on the problem of declining living standards.

But American politics is careening to the right for lack of an effective challenge, and Powell is a class act. If Clinton continues capitulating and Powell runs, a lot of Democrats could well conclude: better a principled centrist than a failed trimmer.

# Black Women Back March

**Hamil R. Harris**

IT'S THURSDAY night, and the Phi Beta Sigma fraternity headquarters in Northwest Washington rumbles with debate. Supporters of the Million Man March are planning what they hope will be a huge assembly of black men here this month, and a senior organizer is presiding, letting one long-winded speaker know his time has expired.

"Thank you, my brother," Faye Williams interrupts.

Williams, a lawyer and former congressional candidate, is a vital cog in the march's machinery, heading up its local organizing committee in Washington and directing dozens of men who are preparing for the event. But on October 16, Williams won't be part of the crowd she is rounding up.

This is the Million Man March — and even female organizers are being urged to stay home.

A central paradox of this ambitious civil-rights demonstration, which planners hope will bring hundreds of thousands to the Mall, is the role that African-American women are playing in it.

Excluded from the event's name, many individual women and influential women's groups are nonetheless supporting it ardently. Others say they are disturbed at being relegated to what they consider second-class status.

Backers, who include the poet Maya Angelou and the National Council of Negro Women, say that any event designed to uplift black men inevitably will benefit black women. They applaud two primary goals of the march: creating a picture of black men that defies negative stereotypes and encouraging black men to "atone to God for the way we have treated our women and girls," in the words of the event's originator, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

But detractors say Farrakhan traditionally has portrayed women as mere helpmates for men and several years ago made inflammatory remarks about the woman who was raped by former heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson. They also contend that the march robs those women who agree with its aims of the chance to stand in solidarity with black men.

Williams says she is comfortable with her role. She said that to ensure the march's success, organizers must "send out our strongest team, and women are some of the leaders of that team." But at the event itself, "I have great trust and respect in the leaders of the march, and I know that they will represent me well."

Alexis Nunley, 36, a mechanical engineer from Landover, Maryland, said she is disappointed that she will not be welcomed at the march. "In order for the black family to be unified, you need all of the elements there," she said.

Since its inception last year, the Million Man March has been aimed solely at African-American men. Organizers say that no one who shows up for the demonstration will be asked to leave, but Farrakhan repeatedly has said women should stay at home and reflect on spiritual matters.

That is consistent with the approach Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam have taken to women over the years. Not long ago, Farrakhan staged a nationwide lecture tour and limited his audiences to men only.

At Nation of Islam worship services men and women sit apart on separate sides of the mosque. Some women who are ardent supporters of Nation of Islam say they see their role as ancillary to that of men.

Angela 6X Bone, 28, is a member of The Vanguard, a women's group that dresses head to foot in white linen and provides security and logistical support at Farrakhan's appearances. "We see ourselves primarily as supporters of what the black man is trying to do for ourselves and our children," she said.

Some black women are keeping their distance from the march, but thus far support among African-American women vastly outweighs opposition.

No organized women's groups have surfaced to object to the event. And in an apparent effort to head that off, march organizers recently decided to include several women as speakers on the platform, including civil-rights icon Rosa Parks.

A number of mainline women's groups, including Zeta Phi Beta sorority and the National Political Congress of Black Women, have endorsed the march.

Many supporters say they are not endorsing either the beliefs or the actions of Farrakhan and the Rev. Benjamin Chavis but support Farrakhan's call for African-American men to "straighten their backs."



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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# Generals Rue Berlin Wall Deaths

**Rick Atkinson in Berlin**

THE EIGHT generals sitting in the dock have been shorn of their stars. Gone too are the epaulets, the braid, the medals for service to the socialist fatherland. Instead of starched uniforms, they wear bad suits and hearing aids, the mufti of old soldiers.

Former East German generals all, ranging in age from 65 to 81, the defendants are charged with being accessories to manslaughter in carrying out Order 101, the Communist regime's shoot-to-kill edict against those attempting to flee to the West during the Cold War.

Their expressions are not easily read as they perch with their lawyers on four wooden benches in Room 500 of the gloomy Moabit courthouse in central Berlin. The trial drones on around them. Most affect a studied ennui or knit-browed befuddlement, occasionally yielding to waspish irritation at this indignity in the twilight of their lives.

The "generals' trial," which began in August, is Germany's latest attempt to bring accused Communist malefactors to book for decades of totalitarian excesses, including an estimated 600 people gunned down at the Berlin Wall.

With the fifth anniversary of German unification falling on October 3, the effort thus far has had little success. Most of the upper echelon from East Germany's old guard — including the late strongman Erich Honecker, who died last year in Chile — either eluded prosecution because of ill health or received light sentences. Last month, a federal appeals court overturned several convictions of East German judges charged with "perverting justice." The court also ruled that jurists who abused the law to punish the Communist regime's political opponents can be prosecuted by united Germany only in the most blatant cases.

And Germany's Constitutional Court ruled in May that former East German spymasters cannot be prosecuted for conducting Cold War espionage against the West. The decision effectively granted a blanket amnesty to dozens — perhaps hundreds — of former top agents for the Stasi secret police.

A survey of state prosecutors published last week by the German news agency DPA found that although thousands of preliminary investigations have been opened into alleged East German abuses, only 336 indictments have been handed down. Of an estimated 170 defendants convicted, the majority received probation. The stiffest sentence so far is a 10-year prison term to a former border guard for shooting to death a man who had surrendered after being snared by barbed wire while fleeing to the West in 1966.

Since the two Germanys became one in 1990, the unified country has struggled with legal and moral questions in contemplating who is culpable for the East's transgressions.

For many easterners, including some who opposed their Communist rulers, the process has become a vengeful exercise in "victor's justice." They argue that actions on behalf of the sovereign state of East Germany cannot legitimately be judged by the legal system of unified Germany. They also contend that actions authorized by the East Berlin government — such as shooting those trying to escape — cannot retroactively be declared a crime.

FOR MANY westerners, the ghosts of the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal that judged Nazi Germany's surviving leaders after World War II cannot easily be brushed aside: The claim to have been "just following orders" — a defense heard today in Room 500 of the Moabit courthouse — carries grim echoes from the Third Reich.

"After this dictatorship, it was the right decision to look back and review what happened in the past with the benefit of knowledge, and not to shy away from that body or knowledge or what it might reveal," the Rev. Joachim Gauck, a Lutheran pastor from eastern Germany who now oversees the vast Stasi archive in Berlin, said in a recent magazine interview.

But former East German prime minister Hans Modrow summed up the sentiments of many former Communists: "West German justice authorities have used the tragic events at the border between the two German states solely as an excuse to get even with East Germany and its leaders."

Whether viewed as a search for justice or a witch hunt, the process has unfolded on several fronts. More than 6,000 espionage cases reportedly have been opened throughout Germany in the past five years, but the high court ruling in May has put many of those in question.



**East German border guards remove the body of a man they shot while he was attempting to cross the Berlin Wall in 1962**

Another 4,000 cases involving East German judges and prosecutors have been opened, according to Die Welt newspaper, although only 52 defendants have been charged and only a dozen convicted. Here, too, the recent appeals court decision appears to undercut most prosecutions.

In explaining the September 15 ruling, Chief Judge Heinrich Laufhuette said convictions are warranted only for "clearly despotic applications of East German law." How that standard will be applied remains uncertain. Among the recently convicted jurists is a former East German supreme court judge, Helene Heymann, 77, sentenced to five years in prison this spring for her cavalier use of the death penalty in the 1950s.

No less controversial are the investigations spawned by the Stasi archives, which include 40 million index cards and 112 miles of files amassed by the secret police. Gauck estimates that in 1989 the Stasi employed 91,000 people full time and 175,000 "unofficial assistants." More than 5,000 cases of suspected Stasi collaboration have been pursued in the past five years; hundreds of teachers, public officials and civil servants have lost their jobs after being revealed as informants.

But clearly the most emotional aspect of Germany's tortured process of coming to terms with the past involves the shootings at the Wall. The first convictions for border killings were handed down in January 1992, when two guards were found guilty of gunning down their fleeing compatriots. A total of 59 indictments have been filed against border troops and their political superiors.

But given that Honecker and most of his inner circle are beyond the reach of the law, prosecutors thus far have had to settle mostly for convictions against trigger-pullers. (A trio of second-tier government officials convicted in 1993 received prison terms ranging from five to seven years.)

With the generals' trial, judicial authorities are working their way up the chain of command again. The eight defendants — including Col. Gen. Joachim Goldbach, a former deputy defense minister, and Lt. Gen. Helmut Borufka, once the chief inspector of the East German army — all sat on a committee known as the Defense Ministry Collegium. In that capacity, according to the 571-page indictment, they helped enforce Order 101, which stated that, if necessary, "border violators are to be destroyed."

The defendants contend that the Collegium was simply a rubber stamp for dictates of the Communist Party Politburo; that East Germany was only a vassal of the Soviet Union, doing Moscow's bidding; that the country was hemorrhaging hundreds of thousands of skilled workers in the 1950s and was legitimately concerned about its economic survival; that "destroyed" didn't really mean shoot to kill; and that the Berlin court lacks jurisdiction.

"We committed no crime," Col. Gen. Wolfgang Reinhold, 72, a former air force chief, told the court on behalf of all eight defendants. "We regret the deaths and injuries of these people. They were victims of the divisions of Germany and the Cold War."

With as many as 200 witnesses lined up and court sessions held only a few hours a week in deference to the defendants' ages, the trial is expected to last well over a year.

It may, in fact, be only a warm-up act for a half-dozen bigger fish scheduled to be tried beginning November 13 on similar manslaughter charges. All were Politburo members — defendant Egon Krenz was East Germany's last hard-line Communist leader — but prosecutors have acknowledged the difficulty of convicting even top officials if they were not directly involved in formulating Order 101.

"Generally, it has to be said that the dictatorial past stinks. It is evil, it is repulsive," Gauck told Deutschland magazine in August. "However, if we were not to accept the past, if we were to somehow artificially block our capacity to remember, if we were not to employ our ability to ask ourselves about our own responsibility and guilt, we would have left the realm of the human."

# Canada Biker Gangs Battle Over Drug Turf

**Charles Trueheart in Saint-Luc, Quebec**

IN THE space of a week at the end of last month, members of a ruthless subculture have carried out a parking-lot assassination, bombed a bar, a strip joint and a luxury home as a family slept within, torched a used car dealership, a pawn shop and a tanning salon, and blown up three of their own in a bungled raid on an enemy redoubt in Saint-Luc, a far suburb of Montreal.

What all these events have in common, authorities say, are murderous biker gangs in a pitched battle over territory in Montreal's lucrative drug trade.

The recent event marked their most violent week, and the police say they expect further trouble. Some 200 municipal, provincial and Canadian police investigators were on the case by the end of last month, piecing together clues and flushing out informants.

In the last two years in Quebec, authorities have attributed 25 deaths to biker warfare in 40 incidents, including firebombings and revenge killings.

The potent brew of dynamite, narcotics and machismo claimed its first innocent in August, riveting the city on what it could no longer dismiss as murder among miscreants.

The victim was Daniel DesRochers, an 11-year-old boy playing in the street when a dynamite-loaded jeep blew a piece of metal into his head.

The saga of biker violence stretches back to the 1977 founding of the first Hell's Angels chapter in Quebec.

In recent years, according to the police and criminologists, the group has gained a reputation as one of the most murderous in the loose organisation of motorcycle gangs and criminals. A 1985 massacre of five gang members suggested that the Quebec Angels leadership is uncommonly willing to execute uncooperative underlings.

Hells Angels, founded in California after World War Two, took their name from the 1930 movie with Jean Harlow. The self-described outlaws have derived some of their sinister lustre from the image of Marlon Brando in The Wild One. Today, their 1,100 members worldwide are active in narcotics trafficking, according to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The Quebec chapter's ambitions, the police believe, are to rule the drug trade in Montreal and then to move into populous Ontario. A lesser strain of biker violence has plagued Toronto in recent months as part of the guerrilla war for drug turf in Canada's biggest city.

Clubs in British Columbia already control the trade in marijuana, hashish, cocaine and heroine on Canada's West Coast; the Mounties say they are the richest Hells Angels in the world.

Les Hells, as they are called in French, are struggling for market share in Montreal with an upstart rival group called the Rock Machine. Authorities here said the smaller local gang's ability to wage war so audaciously against an established and feared organisation like the Hell's Angels suggested links to powerful crime families in Montreal's East End, and through them to international crime syndicates.

Yves Lavigne, author of a critical book on the Hell's Angels, predicted that the parent organisation would not tolerate any loss of control on its intended turf and he foresaw "a real bloodbath" in Quebec.

Some of the fiery incidents continue to baffle the police. The family in the luxury home, who were not injured, had no known connection to biker groups. Neither did the tanning salon, the police say.

The high tension over biker warfare was evident at the burial of Richard Emond, reportedly a leader of a Montreal-area Hell's Angels platoon. He was felled in a parking lot hit a week ago.

The funeral in Trois-Rivières, about 150 miles from Saint-Luc, was monitored by surveillance aircraft and about 300 police officers. They outnumbered the mourners, who arrived in stretched limousines and astride their rumbling machines, most of them sporting the "colors" of the Hell's Angels on their jackets and vests.

Mr. Emond's young daughter wept at her father's grave site. But the pause for grief was short. The Saint-Luc bombing came only a few hours later.

# A Strategy for Success

**Richard Reeves**

MY AMERICAN JOURNEY
By Colin L. Powell
With Joseph E. Persico
Random House. 643pp. $25.95

NOW, THIS is a c.v.! — 613 pages of what Colin Powell has done for country, God and family. My American Journey is three or four books in one — the stirring, only-in-America story of one determined man's journey from the South Bronx to directing the mightiest of military forces; the fascinating story of how that military thinks and operates; a black man's cool look at our times; a self-indulgent, self-improvement manual. And, all in all, a generally impressive application for the top military job, the elected commander-in-chief, president of the United States.

It's a good book — solid, controlled, defensive sometimes, but more honest than the books of men who pursue the presidency along the more traditional trails of electoral politics. The general shows a sharper eye and pen than expected in quick thrusts at men he worked for and with, from President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger — heroes to Powell for reinvigorating the military — down to an uncertain Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, a decidedly un-heroic Oliver North and a foolish little Vice President Dan Quayle.

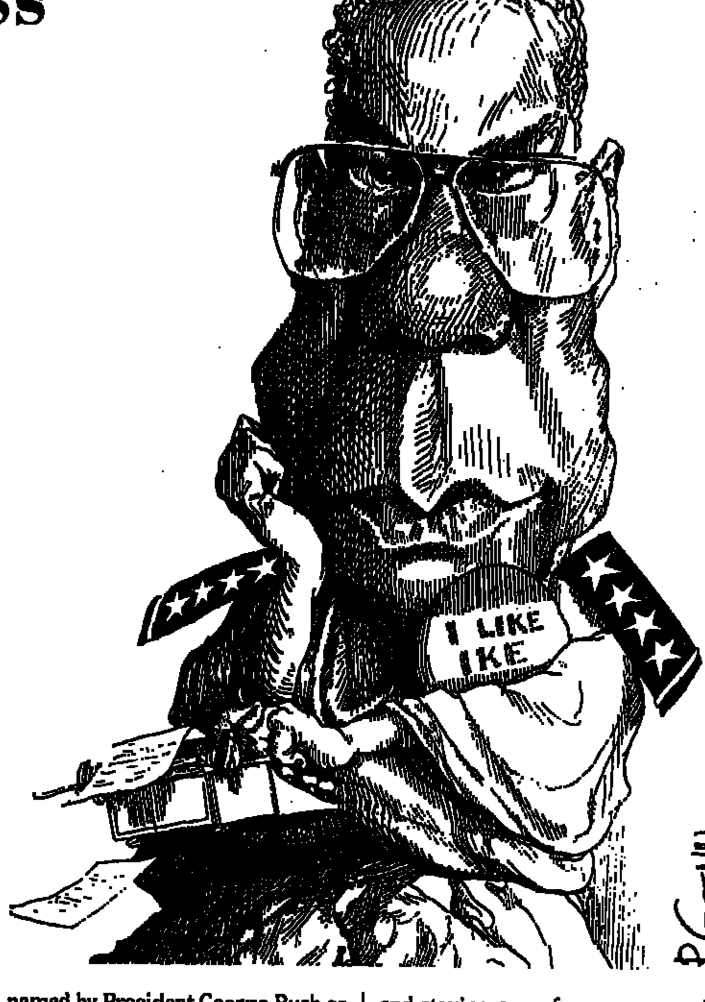
"Was that a yes?" Powell quotes National Security Advisor Frank Carlucci as "muttering" when the two of them leave Reagan's office trying to divine what the old man said and meant.

Powell begins his story on Kelly Street in the Hunt's Point section of the Bronx — called "Banana Kelly" because of the way it curves. He writes revealingly about a subject generally ignored in white journalism: the differences and tensions between American blacks and West Indians.

Powell's parents and a large extended family came from Jamaica to Harlem, then on to the Bronx and Queens. Both his father and mother were garment workers. They worked hard, almost obsessively — that is the way of many West Indians. They sent their son to City College of New York, and he fell in love, with the Reserve Officer Training Corps and with the Army.

The city kid, Lt. Powell, was sent south in 1959 and got another education, this one about race. When he found out just how bad racism was in Georgia and Alabama in those days, this was his reaction: "If people in the South insisted on living by crazy rules, then I would play the hand dealt me for now. If I was to be confined to one end of the playing field, then I was going to be a star on that part of the field." When blacks began rioting in the 1960s, his reaction was: "We are not eager to see the country burned down. We were doing well in it."

If his race was a detriment, living in Phenix City, Alabama — where he was refused service at local hamburger stands — hard-working Col. Powell later turned it to tremendous advantage. He broke out of the pack by working harder than anyone else and by presenting his race superbly as an extra dimension in an institution that is more than 25 percent black in the lower ranks and in a nation (and among politicians) anxious to validate the notion that all men are created equal by pointing to successful black role models. And, sure enough, there came a day in Phenix City when the city fathers dedicated a road called Gen. Colin L. Powell Parkway. It intersects Martin Luther King Jr. Drive.




THE lieutenant's first overseas assignment was in West Germany. He says he knew early on that war in Vietnam was pointless, but he hustled to get there and get his ticket punched. He shows himself obsessed with his own career, calculating his advancement opportunities again and again as he moves between shorter- and shorter-lived field commands and staff posts and longer and longer networking stints in Washington. The Army sends him to George Washington University for a master's degree in business administration, setting him up as a White House Fellow under Carlucci and Weinberger at the Office of Management and Budget.

Then he comes back again and again as a military assistant to four secretaries of Defense — Harold Brown, Weinberger, Carlucci and Dick Cheney — and as an assistant when Carlucci is Reagan's national security adviser and then national security adviser himself before being named by President George Bush as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at 52, the youngest in history.

The careerist. He is defensive about being called a "political general" — which is what he was. A "gofer," he says in a painful attempt at self-deprecation, of his role as a talented facilitator, a brilliant manipulator of systems. And you come to realize that strategic thinking and seeming blind ambition are not necessarily unique to Powell. The system that frames his life, the military, is rigidly institutionalized careerism.

There is constant competition. Only one in 10 brigadier generals ever makes it to four stars. The system is designed, or supposed, to be objective, but a civilian reader is astonished by the power of higher officers (and sometimes their wives) to make and break underlings.

"I was moving around so much I was afraid I might fall off the career track," Powell writes in what sounds like a touch of panic. The first requisite is to avoid mistakes and traps, which can mean avoiding decisions, and staying away from crazy or vindictive commanders. The second requisite is to stand out in some way nevertheless. That's the tougher test for most Army careerists, but Powell stood out from day one because of his race.

He understood, too, that the changes in the army after Vietnam placed more value on his MBA than on his limited command and combat experience. Powell also understood exactly what was regarded as failure: "I detected a common thread running through the careers of officers who ran aground even though they were clearly able . . . they fought what they thought foolish or irrelevant, and consequently did not survive to do what they considered vital."

He survived and thrived. About his military service, he is most defensive about charges and whispers that as JCS chairman he opposed the Gulf War against Iraq or that it was his doing that the war ended before the Iraqi army was destroyed forever or the country's leader, Saddam Hussein, was deposed or killed. He defends well enough, citing a United Nations mandate only to liberate Kuwait and adding with finesse: "A reluctant warrior? Guilty. War is a deadly game and I do not believe in spending the lives of Americans lightly."

He seems to blame Gen. Schwarzkopf for the few troubles he had then. Perhaps that is why he records his partner in the Gulf calling Washington and saying: "Colin, I feel like my head's in a vise. Maybe I'm losing it. Maybe I'm losing my objectivity." But harsh words are few when he talks about "Mother Army," his true love, all the more because he is black. "The Army was living the democratic ideal ahead of the rest of Americans . . ." he writes, "less discrimination, a truer merit system and leveler playing fields." He takes pride that he was "Bro' P" to some black soldiers under his command in Korea and that it was his idea to put a statue at Fort Leavenworth to commemorate the black "Buffalo Soldiers" who patrolled the plains in the late 19th century.

Now, it seems, black Democratic members of Congress come to him talking of a "dream" and a "nightmare." Their dream is his running for president or vice president as a Democrat; in the nightmare, he runs as a Republican. In the book he tries to go both ways, saying: "To sum up my political philosophy, I am a fiscal conservative with a social conscience . . . The time may be at hand for a third major party to emerge to represent this sensible center of the American people."

Reading between those lines and others, it seems to me that Powell has great reservations about Republicans' attitudes towards his race, but he feels enormous personal gratitude to Reagan and Bush, the presidents who restored love for the military and made him a national hero. Growing up with a photograph of Franklin D. Roosevelt on the kitchen wall, he voted Democratic until 1980, but he came to see the party as anti-military — a perception not helped when one of President Bill Clinton's young assistants told a general, a Powell aide, "We don't talk to soldiers around here."

Now they all want to talk to Powell, the icon. I am not yet persuaded that he actually wants to be president, or is willing or able to pay King Public's shilling — that endless trail of small humiliations in any campaign. But I am sure he wants to be asked.

# Henry Adams, Sleuth

**Jonathan Yardley**

PANAMA
By Eric Zencey
Farrar Straus & Giroux. 375pp. $24

THIS NOVEL by a little-known writer is a genuine rarity in contemporary American fiction: a serious entertainment. It is the story, largely if not entirely believable, of a few weeks in the life of Henry Adams, the historian and memoirist. It is set mostly in Paris and takes place in 1892, a time that was critical both for that city and for Adams himself: for Paris because a scandal over the finances of the Panama Canal venture threatened to bring down the government, for Adams because he was in a long period of emotional and professional drift following the suicide seven years earlier of his wife, Clover.

If this seems unlikely raw material from which to extract a novel of any sort, much less a detective story, that only makes Eric Zencey's accomplishment all the more noteworthy. The suspense he creates is genuine; it begins with the disappearance of a young woman whom Adams has befriended and moves rapidly along through a succession of encounters with senior politicians, various police officers and sleuths, and shady characters of unknown purpose. By the same token, the novel also sends Adams on a voyage of self-regeneration, one that leaves him prepared at the end to write his works Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres, as well as engaged with questions about the new industrial world that in time he would confront in The Education of Henry Adams.

Readers who share my uneasiness about fiction into which actual historical characters are introduced no doubt will come to Panama, as I did, with a certain wariness. At times this is warranted, chiefly when "Henry Adams" does things that one finds it difficult to imagine Henry Adams doing. But for the most part Zencey declines to turn figures of history into mere figures of fun; he is more interested in using fiction as a way of understanding them than in capitalizing, *à la* Ragtime, on the cleverness of it all.

The narrative begins with Adams, in Panama, being drawn to a photograph of a dozen ranking officers of Compagnie Universelle, the French Panama undertaking that had gone bankrupt some years before, the unsavory conduct of which is only now coming to light. In particular he is drawn to the chief engineer, Jules Dingler, with whom he imagines he shares a bond not merely of widowerhood but of being "victims of the same thing, the same ineluctable force . . . the swelling mass of middling sort of men, the sort who every day came to greater prominence."

Adams, "outpaced by a world that no longer seemed to need his kind," is prisoner of a changed world: "More crowded, less tolerant, less forgiving. Less *artistic*." He is an old-fashioned man who is a misfit in "the coming age."

The development, or redevelopment, of Henry Adams is by far the most interesting aspect of this novel, but that is not to scant it as pure, or mere, suspense. The details of the mystery are too complex to be outlined in a couple of paragraphs, so suffice it to say that the story not only brings Adams into contact with people he ordinarily would shun but also finds him at the mercy of new techniques of detection — fingerprinting, most particularly — that "represented the rationalization, the *industrialization* of police work."

This last is a nice touch on Zencey's part, but then Panama abounds in such touches. Its characters both real and imaginary are deftly sketched, its portrait of Paris at a time of scandal is unsentimental, and its gradual accretion of fact and rumor is subtly done. For Adams, it is all almost too much:

"For a time the Panama affair had seemed, if not clear, then at least orderly: each fact had suggested an action, a next step, an appropriate and logical further inquiry. But as he stood outside the Prefecture, his questions branched as confusingly as lines of descent in a village of polygamists, until he was no longer exactly sure what had begat what and where anything was related."

It is no exaggeration to say that the mystery of Adams's young friend's disappearance in time sheds light for him on other mysteries both larger and deeper. In the process of solving it — more accurately, "play acting at being detective" — Adams is drawn out of his self-absorbed self-pity and reconnected with the world, even if it is a world he neither likes nor understands. Zencey leads him along this path so surely and convincingly that one almost believes this to be true, indeed wishes it were so.









# China aims to 'talk and fight' with the US

Beijing's diplomatic shift is forging a new relationship with Russia while playing the Third World card.
**Francis Deron** reports

AFTER a summer of military posturing and warlike commemorations of the cold war, China appears to be shifting to a diplomatic terrain in its relations with the outside world, particularly the United States.

President Jiang Zemin seems likely to visit the United States to meet President Bill Clinton, and the two countries' ambassadors, who were recalled in June, are to be returned to their posts. China should not be expected to make compromises. But its declared wish to resume the formal dialogue looks like an updated version of the "talk and fight" strategy the US suffered from the Vietcong during the Vietnam war.

Beijing has taken several months to approve the appointment of the former Tennessee Democrat senator James Sasser as US ambassador to China in place of Stapleton Roy. The move appears to have convinced Beijing that the United States is prepared to allow a Clinton-Jiang meeting to go ahead once the two countries' foreign ministers, currently meeting in New York during the United Nations General Assembly sessions, have settled the conditions for such a summit.

Put off for several months, Beijing's approval of Sasser's nomination to the ambassadorial post is a major concession. China does not entirely trust the new ambassador, especially because of his critical stand over the crushing in 1989 of the Tiananmen pro-democracy movement. But the Chinese concession is a tactical one; Beijing has no intention of toning down the accusations it is levelling against the US.

The official media have continued to maintain their flow of inflammatory articles attacking Washington on two points that have enraged the Chinese: Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui's private visit to the United States in June, and Clinton's third meeting on September 13 with the Dalai Lama at the White House, even though it was an impromptu conversation struck up in Vice-President Al Gore's office. Since then, Beijing suspects Washington has been trying to splinter China's national unity.



Comrades in arms . . . Russia's prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and China's president, Jiang Zemin, inspect the troops in Moscow during last year's official state visit PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL ESTAFIEV

This analysis is part of the power struggle over a successor to Deng Xiaoping and carries the personal stamp of the prime minister, Li Peng, who has built his career on nationalist sentiments that go to the heart of the communist old guard. However, the role of individuals in the softening of the Chinese line must not be overestimated. The country's leaders as a whole have always been unsure about Deng's policy of reaching out to the US.

So the Chinese "diplomatic encirclement" of the US works both through a pointed reassertion of the new Sino-Russian relationship and preparations for reforming the United Nations where Beijing has a veto in the Security Council. The deputy prime minister, Qian Qichen, a skillful diplomat who is also a "product" of the Soviet system (he studied in Moscow and served at China's embassy there), made a point of stopping off in Russia on his way to the UN General Assembly session. On September 22 he had a meeting with President Boris Yeltsin at his holiday home by the Black Sea, ostensibly in preparation for the Russian leader's next visit to China in November.

Qian took advantage of his Russian stopover to explain the principles his country wished to put forward for reforming the UN. For Beijing, it is a matter of defending non-interference in the internal affairs of states and tightening the Security Council's relations with the UN General Assembly.

In other words, the aim is to clip some of the Security Council's power and tilt the balance towards the General Assembly. China hasn't always had a strong position in the Security Council, whereas in the General Assembly it has the votes of a host of weak states still captivated by its Third World rhetoric.

Twenty years ago, Deng Xiaoping told the UN General Assembly about the "theory of the three worlds" which, he said, required middle powers and Third World countries to join in a provisional alliance to thwart the "hegemonic" designs of the US and the Soviet Union. The purpose of that rhetoric was to forge a strategic relationship with the US aimed at the USSR. That relationship largely overshadowed the initial Third World vision.

The present upheavals in relations between China and the West are born of that realignment. And the strains inside the country, which is still not comfortable with foreign (largely American) economic penetration, do not necessarily foreshadow a period of tranquillity in Beijing's relations with the international community.

(September 27)

# Brazil's landless families fight for a share

President Cardoso has promised to 'democratise' the ownership of land.
**Dominique Dhombres** reports from Rio de Janeiro

AN EXPLOSIVE situation has developed in the Pontal do Paranapanema region, 650km west of São Paulo, where 1,200 landless families are threatening to invade uncultivated agricultural estates.

The landowners have recruited large numbers of armed guards. Mario Covas, governor of the state of São Paulo, is proposing to settle the families on parcels of land bought by the state as part of its agrarian reform. He admits, however, that he has no immediate solutions.

The massacre on August 9 at the Santa Elina farm in the state of Rondônia, close to the Bolivian border, is still fresh in people's minds. Some 500 landless peasants were set upon by police in the middle of the night. The official figure of 10 dead probably falls far short of the actual number. None of the policemen involved has been punished, although several witnesses testified to seeing torture and summary executions.

The federal ministry has begun its investigation into the killings. Meanwhile, the Santa Elina survivors are sheltering at a nearby church.

Seven large farms have already been illegally occupied in Pontal do Paranapanema, and the landowners in this rural zone, considered backward compared with the rest of São Paulo state, have decided not to tolerate further encroachments on their property.

The Landless Peasants' Movement says it is going to double the number of occupations. It plans to use force to resist any attempt to dislodge them from land they occupy. "We're ready to fight and if people are killed, it won't be on our side," promises Jose Rainha Junior, the Movement's local leader.

The country's leading leftwing party, the Workers' Party, has decided to throw its weight behind the landless movement and plans to launch a nationwide campaign.

"This is the first time in 20 years that the agrarian issue has been so dominant in society's consciousness," says Luis Dulci, deputy chairman of the party, who proposes to redistribute among peasants the estates of big landowners owing money to the Bank of Brazil, a state-owned commercial bank.

President Fernando Henrique Cardoso quickly announced that he was "examining" the idea and the suggestion to parcel out land belonging to the nation. "The problem of landless persons has become worse," he admitted in an address designed to answer critics accusing the government of doing nothing.

"In eight months of government, we have settled 15,000 families under the agrarian reform programme," he pointed out. "And by the end of the year, we will have settled 40,000 as we had promised.

"The occupation of estates and police violence compound the problem. Killings such as those committed on the Santa Elina farm deserve exemplary punishment.

"We're going through with the agrarian reform. It's not possible that so much land should be in the hands of so few, and that it should be producing practically nothing, when so many farmers don't even have a patch of land to cultivate. We're going to democratise land in Brazil, but without violence and without illegal occupations."

Brazil's constitution provides for the expropriation of uncultivated land for the benefit of peasants, but the provision has hardly ever been applied. It is estimated that 44 per cent of land in Brazil is owned by 1 per cent of the population. A Workers' Party inquiry shows that 994 people have died in disputes connected with land over the past 10 years.

(September 28)

# Croatia tries to dispossess Krajina Serbs

**Florence Hartmann**

THE Zagreb army launched a lightning attack on August 4, regained control of Krajina and sent 150,000 Serbs fleeing into exile. Today, only a few thousand Serbs are left in the region, which was their home for centuries.

No one knows whether the present peace process will produce an agreement that allows refugees to return to their homes. Meanwhile, the Croatian government has issued a decree on the property of those persons no longer living in Croatia, which is in breach of the fundamental right of refugees and victims of "ethnic cleansing" to return to their homes.

The decree placing the property of Serbs who have fled Croatia under government authority came into force on September 5. Officially, it is said to protect the property against appropriation by illegal occupation, and stems from the urgent need to find homes for the thousands who lost everything in the war.

Accordingly, unused property and assets requisitioned under the decree have been made available to "displaced persons and refugees, persons who have returned but whose property has been damaged or destroyed, families of the defenders of the fatherland who have been killed or gone missing, disabled ex-servicemen and citizens whose work is vital for the security, reconstruction and development of regions that were formerly occupied".

The Croatian authorities emphasise that the measure is provisional. However, its discriminatory character cannot be concealed for it applies only to the Serbs — all those "who left Croatia after August 17, 1990", which was when the Krajina Serbs rebelled, and "the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (Serbia and Montenegro) who "do not personally utilise" their property in Croatia.

The decree takes the form of a standard sequestration order. The only persons legally entitled to appeal, the Croatian Serbs, are expected to return to Croatia within 30 days from the date the decree became effective and apply for their property to be returned to them.

This means that if the Serbs who fled Krajina do not want to be dispossessed they had until October 5 to return to Croatia. No reclamation provisions have been made for persons living in Serbia and Montenegro who owned family property or a second home in Croatian territory.

Human rights associations in Croatia and the Belgrade anti-war centre have defended the rights of victims subjected to ethnic discrimination in the former Yugoslavia. Most of those concerned will find it impossible to return to Croatia within the time set by the decree.

The international community's silence was broken by the US ambassador to Zagreb, Peter Galbraith: "The Serbs who fled are Croatian citizens; they have the right to return." The US had earlier warned Croatia that American financial aid for postwar reconstruction was linked to Zagreb's attitude towards its Serbian minority.

(September 28)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 8 1995

# Armenians struggle to find their feet

Though the cost of living has been stabilised, power cuts leave the people cold, writes **Marie Jégo** in Yerevan

VANUSH and Marine are tired of looking at the blackened walls of their apartment in a suburb of the Armenian capital, Yerevan. "Not another winter in these conditions," they say.

They manage to maintain the temperature inside the apartment at around 5 degrees Celsius by keeping the stove burning constantly. For fuel they use branches cut from trees around the capital, further depleting the country's remaining forests.

To be able to have electricity for more than a few hours a day and to receive radio and television, they have cobbled together a makeshift power generator. They envy the lucky ones living close to a hospital or an underground railway line who have an uninterrupted supply of electricity. They often recall the days when Armenia's capital was the "best-lit city in the whole of the Soviet Union".

Artist Gagik is not nostalgic and there are no blackened walls at his home, for he has the means to winter abroad. Officially, 300,000 Armenians have temporarily left the country since the worst days of the energy crisis in the winter of 1992-93. The country's political opposition puts the number of Armenians forced to go abroad — mostly to Russia — in search of work at 800,000 of the country's total population of 3.7 million.

When neighbouring Azerbaijan cut off energy supplies in 1988 because of a clash with Armenia over the enclave of Nagorno Karabakh — in Azeri territory, but largely populated by ethnic Armenians — it disrupted the government's attempts to introduce reforms since gaining independence on September 22, 1991.



Yerevan's streets are full of small traders PHOTOGRAPH: JONATHAN RUGMAN

Things have settled down somewhat since the two sides signed a ceasefire agreement in May 1994, which so far has held. But energy supplies remain cut off, a situation that many businessmen have been quick to exploit.

Coming on top of the 1992 closure of the railway linking the country to Turkey since the Soviet days, the lack of energy supplies has helped to tighten the stranglehold on an economy already severely damaged by the USSR's collapse.

The only pipeline bringing natural gas into the country from Turkmenistan runs through Georgia in the north. But, says the deputy minister of energy, Karen Galstian: "The part of Georgia through which the pipeline passes is inhabited by Azeris, and it has been sabotaged 35 times in five years."

The relative stability in Georgia at the moment allows natural gas to be piped into Armenia without too much difficulty, and good communication links with Russia to be easily maintained. But without adequate energy, industrial output dropped 60 per cent between 1989 and 1993, plunging the country into darkness and confusion.

With the reopening of the Metzamor power plant — which had been shut for security reasons since the 1988 earthquake and was put back into working order with Russian technical aid — Armenian schools will again have heating, say government officials. "We're already providing about six hours of electricity a day instead of the one or two hours at the worst moments of the 1992-93 energy crisis," says Galstian.

Despite these difficulties, Armenia, the smallest state emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, does enjoy an internal stability that its turbulent Caucasian neighbours must envy. While Azerbaijan, a quarter of whose territory is occupied by Armenia, is shaken by internal strife made worse by quarrelling over Caspian oil, the young republic with a population that is 93.3 per cent Armenian is held together by strong national bonds and supported by expatriates who outnumber the population at home.

Wedged between Turkey in the south and Azerbaijan in the east, Armenia has no natural resources or access to the sea. But its streets have been invaded by small traders, and the capital appears to have found a new lease of life. There are plenty of goods from Iran, Armenia's third biggest trading partner after Russia and Turkmenistan.

Inflation hit a high of 11,000 per cent in 1993 and was brought down to 3 per cent a month by the spring of 1994, but in spite of a disastrous start in 1993, the new currency — the dram — has stabilised.

Smart new houses springing up around the capital and well-dressed families visiting the city's public garden to admire a rare black swan — imported by the interior ministry and guarded by a squad of policemen — testify to the emergence of a privileged class.

But discontent is widespread. Refugees beg in inner city streets and droves of old women hawk goods such as a loaf of bread or a packet of cigarettes. Malicious voices raise doubts about the economic "recovery" promised by officials, who argue that this is inevitable after the country has touched bottom.

The average monthly wage is 3,000 drams ($6), the lowest in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Despite their legendary ability to put up with privations, there are signs that people are beginning to get tired. "How can you decently live on 3,500 drams a month when a bus ticket costs 100 drams?" asks Sasha, a waiter whose wife sells fritters to augment the family income. "We have relatives in Los Angeles, and it's thanks to their help that we eat meat once a week."

In addition to such individual donations, aid from Armenian expatriates is helping to keep the country on its feet. Humanitarian aid in 1993 exceeded the state budget.

While industry has been paralysed by energy shortages, agriculture has benefited from the privatisation of land that began as early as 1991 at the initiative of the then prime minister, Vazgen Manukian.

Armenia has distributed 80 per cent of its usable land to farmers. This is a unique achievement among the republics of the former Soviet Union, even though Armenian farmers now complain that they are short of farm equipment and fertiliser. What's more, the government can count on the support of a farming community of roughly 300,000 households firmly opposed to a return to the old order.

The July 5 parliamentary elections buttressed this internal stability by giving the ruling Armenian National Movement an overwhelming majority (170 of the 190 seats) in the legislature. However, opposition parties are asking questions about the way the elections were conducted and about a new constitution that increases the powers of President Levon Ter-Petrosian. He will now be able to appoint and dismiss members of the entire executive.

The comment by observers from the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe that the elections were "free, but not fair" brings a sharp reaction from the leader of the National Democratic Union, Vazgen Manukian. He says it betrays the "existence of a two-tier concept of democracy in the West".

A ban imposed six months before the elections on the historic Dashnaktsutian Party, and the arrests of its members, has cast doubts on the direction democracy is taking. Agop Avedikian, who edits the independent daily, Azg, and is close to another opposition party, the Ramgavar, says that "with no observers at the polling sites, there were many irregularities".

(September 22)

# Watchdog barks over the single currency

Germany fears few EU countries can meet the Maastricht deadlines. **Lucas Delattre** reports from Bonn

WHEN the German finance minister, Theo Waigel, ruled out Italian participation in the common European currency, wasn't he saying what everybody already knew?

In an interview in the mass-circulation daily Bild Zeitung on September 25, he insisted he had expressed the obvious when he declared on September 20 that only those countries that had addressed their debt situation and were taking the trouble to keep their interest rates, prices and exchange rates under control could hope to join the European monetary union. "The Chancellor and I see eye to eye on this point," he said.

At the recent summit in Majorca, however, Chancellor Helmut Kohl tried to reassure his Italian partners and said that he sympathised with the measures that Lamberto Dini's government was taking. He also pointed out that Bonn did not want to exclude any country from the single currency.

These are by no means two contradictory positions. Germany considers that it is in its own interest to defend budgetary and financial stability in Europe as forcefully as possible. This does not mean acting like a big economic power obsessed with dominating its partners.

In seeking additional guarantees aimed at ensuring long-term budgetary discipline among the member countries of the European economic and monetary union, Germany is admittedly setting itself up as the watchdog of the single currency, but there is no question of scuppering a project backed by big German banks and corporations.

Given the public's reservations about the project, Germany is anxious to wrap up the monetary union as thoroughly as possible, to prevent it becoming a central issue in the 1998 elections. The single currency is fine, but on condition that there are absolutely no doubts about the partners' qualifications.

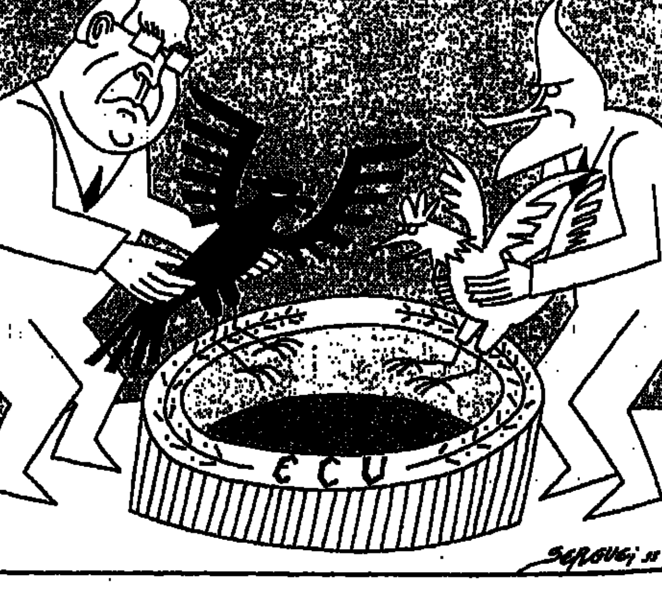
When the time comes, there will be no question of accepting any bending of the criteria, particularly those applying to public debt (Maastricht rules that it should not exceed 60 per cent of GDP). Dresdner Bank economists who recently pleaded for a "compromise" on this point have been severely taken to task by the Bonn finance ministry.

Doubts are, however, beginning to surface in Germany about Belgium and the size of its public debt, but it is about France that the most searching questions are being asked. "When Theo Waigel speaks of Italy, he is in fact thinking of France," explained one Christian Democratic Union deputy who did not want to be identified.

The 1996 budget of French prime minister Alain Juppé's government has been greeted with sceptical comments in Germany. "We don't know whether the French government will have the courage to take unpopular measures next year because of the approaching elections," noted the daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The trade daily, Handelsblatt, observed: "With this budget, the Juppé government is not going to dispel misgivings about its will to bring in reforms."

At the same time, Reimat Jochimsen, a member of the Bundesbank's board of administration and chairman of the central bank's largest regional subsidiary — in North-Rhine-Westphalia — took an unprecedented step when he publicly questioned France's ability to meet the criteria within the time limits set for entering the monetary union.

Oddly enough, in spite of the monetary storm he whipped up with his remarks on September 20, the German finance minister again chose to return to the subject on September 25. This time, however, he mentioned neither Italy nor Belgium. "We want neither a weak currency nor an inflationary currency," he said. The monetary union will come, he insisted. "But it is clear that a single European currency has also to be just as strong as the German mark."




The German authorities are clearly not averse to politicising the debate. Increasingly, the concern is to reassure a worried German public. Already, prominent figures unconnected with the government are speculating on the possibility of monetary union being postponed. The Dresdner Bank, which has just published a study of the various scenarios, thinks a "two-year delay" is likely if a hard core of countries failed to meet the Maastricht criteria by 1999. But the German leaders are taking every possible opportunity to emphasise that there will be no monetary union without France.

(September 26)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 8 1995


# Greenpeace sails through choppy waters

After the problems in Mururoa, **Roger Cans** argues that the group should return to its idealist principles

ALL is not well with the leadership of Greenpeace International. Its former president, David MacTaggart, has been scathingly critical of the amateurish way the campaign against the French resumption of nuclear testing at Mururoa atoll was organised, given the huge resources available to the organisation.

From his yacht Vega, which was impounded by the French near the atoll on September 27, he has been railing against the loss of the organisation's larger boats, which fell into the hands of French navy commandos like ripe plums on September 1, before the first test had even been carried out. He thinks it is high time the "eco-warriors" went back to the good old strategy of David harassing Goliath.

The co-ordinator of the Mururoa campaign, Ulrich Jurgens, was incautious enough to tell the press, from his office in Tahiti, how unhappy he was about the way action on the ground had been carried out. Veteran campaigner Jonathan Castle had been right to cross the lines so the flagship Rainbow Warrior would be impounded, but MV Greenpeace — the "mother ship" of the whole 1995 campaign — should never have been seized.

By trying to rival Rambo at the controls of her helicopter, the American Paula Hucklebury stupidly provided the French with an excuse to intercept the MV Greenpeace. That meant the expedition could no longer get food or fuel to the rest of the flotilla, and had to wave goodbye to its inflatable dinghies, parachutes, microlights and the possibility of air links and satellite communications. Thomas Schultz, captain of the ship and deputy co-ordinator of the campaign, was not at all happy about the impounding.

**Greenpeace does not mind losing the naval battle. In the fight for world opinion, it needs to be seen as a victim of brute force**

At a meeting of Greenpeace in London on September 19, Jurgens took responsibility for what had happened, resigned and was replaced by Schultz. But the composition of the Pacific teams, who are exhausted by weeks of tension, will be reviewed before further action is taken: Greenpeace cannot afford to get it wrong again.

Can its efforts so far be described as a fiasco? It is true that heavy financial losses were incurred by the interception of the ships (a figure of £10 million was quoted at the London meeting). But Greenpeace activists are far from demoralised. Although they were unable to prevent the first French test, they did create such a flurry of media interest that their target was achieved: caught in a hail of flak from all quarters, France has now been forced on to the defensive in almost every world capital. Ambassadors have been recalled, protest demonstrations held, contracts broken off, and boycotts organised. Never has France had to face such criticism for its nuclear tests, the importance of which it is now trying to play down and whose number it may reduce.

Greenpeace does not mind losing the naval battle. In the fight for the hearts and minds of world opinion, it needs to be seen as a victim of brute force. In this, it has succeeded: the Mururoa blasts have never before had such repercussions in Australia, Japan, Chile and even Europe.

So despite the wear and tear of a long, difficult and expensive campaign, Greenpeace is in no mood to throw in the towel. Its new director, Thilo Bode, who officially took over on September 1 (the black day when the two ships were intercepted), is not the sort of person to be discouraged by a setback. Greenpeace will pursue the same strategy of harassing powerful bodies that destroy or pollute, but it will do so in a more organised way. Activists who slip up will be called to account and even expelled.

Greenpeace's budget has shrunk from $174 million in 1990 to $150 million today, so it needs more rigorous management, particularly as the organisation now has broader ambitions than before. It will continue to take on volunteers, but responsibility for major campaigns will be put in the hands of well-tried activists. It does not want to have to apologise again to a company like Shell, whose oil rig was too hastily accused of polluting the North Sea after a slapdash inspection.

Greenpeace's idealist Quaker principles remain its bedrock. Even if a new generation, under mounting German influence, is about to take over, that does not mean its campaigners will be tamed. Its ideals require not faceless bureaucrats, but determined activists who are prepared to take personal risks to defend their cause.

Despite a string of triumphant communiqués, France's navy, gendarmerie and nuclear scientists have certainly not seen the last of Greenpeace. The peace flotilla is still on the spot, waiting for the slightest opening and constantly relayed by fresh volunteers.

Between now and May (or March, if the testing programme is curtailed), the eco-warriors will undoubtedly be in the news again, despite internal dissensions that have existed ever since Greenpeace came into existence. And donations from sympathisers will continue to accumulate in support of a cause which, on a world scale, Greenpeace alone seems capable of serving.

(September 28)

# Che awaits history's verdict

François Maspero

CHÉ GUEVARA
by Jean Cormier
with the collaboration of
Hilda Guevara and Alberto Granado
Rocher 448pp 139 francs

L'ANNEE OU NOUS N'ETIONS NULLE PART
by Paco Ignacio Taibo II,
Froilan Escobar and Felix Guerra
Translated from the Spanish
by Mara Hernandez and René Solis
Métailié 281pp 120 francs

LES SURVIVANTS DU CHE
by Daniel Alarcon Ramírez,
with Mariano Rodríguez
Translated from the Spanish by
Denyse Laroutis
Rocher 229pp 129 francs



The love of life exuded by his followers was probably lacking in Che Guevara in the closing stages of his life PHOTOGRAPH: LEE LOCKWOOD

CHE GUEVARA has become such a legendary figure that those who knew him must wonder whether they can remember what kind of man he really was in the days before he became an icon in the often contradictory fields of politics, art and commerce.

Three new books contain much useful and original material that helps to separate man from myth. Jean Cormier's biography of Guevara can be described as "authorised", since it was written with the help of Che's daughter, Hilda, and childhood friend Alberto Granado.

Cormier admits to being fascinated by Guevara because he was a Romantic endowed with brains, a heart and *cojones* — "not the sort of person you often find in history books". Fans of cloak-and-dagger novels will be delighted to learn that Che was someone who "danced with the wolves" and a "visionary who was organising the future", but who also liked kissing the girls and drinking rum, "a voyager of the soul" whose "purity and tragic death leave the doors of the imagination wide open". Cormier's book is certainly not history — though it could, I suppose, be called Che: His Story.

From Che's birth in Argentina in 1928 to his death in Bolivia in 1967, there are few chronological gaps, partly because he wrote a lot himself, and partly because there is much evidence from other sources. But a degree of mystery still surrounds what motivated his decisions and actions.

Any biographer of Che has to be familiar not only with the history of Latin America, which made him what he was, and of the world communist movement, whose orientations he wished to influence, but also with the clashes that occurred towards the end of the cold war — in other words the background to the Cuban revolution and Che's vision of world revolution.

Cormier accumulates an impressive series of "true little details". But they get in the way of the real issues. Take, for example, Che's formative years. He came from a bourgeois background. His mother taught him the values that lay behind Argentina's independence, a secular, Jacobin ideal that expressed itself in support for the Republican cause in Spain.

The weedy young Guevara learnt to dominate his body and overcome his asthma. Cormier describes how he joined a rugby team, but tells us virtually nothing about the context of the period. How did the teenage Guevara react to Peronism, the regime under which he lived while attending school and studying to be a doctor?

We know his mother was a self-confessed anti-Peronist. But what about her son, who later on in life never came out against Peron's Justicialism, which he regarded purely as a crusade of the *descamisados* (the shirtless), and whose Mussolinian aspects he ignored?

In 1952, when Guevara started travelling around Latin America, he was still apolitical. But he acquired a social conscience from his medical experience. "I was in close contact with poverty, hunger, disease," he wrote. "I saw the degradation caused by undernourishment and constant repression."

That long march, followed by his involvement in 1954 in an attempt to resist an invasion of Guatemala by US-trained mercenaries trying to topple the "over-progressive" regime of Jacobo Arbenz, were the decisive factors in Che's increasingly radical political stance.

After meeting the woman who was to become his first wife, the exiled Peruvian activist, Hilda Gadea, Che began to read a wide range of authors, many but not all of them Marxist.

These established facts about Che have long since exploded the American claim that he was "an international communist agent". He learned his brand of Marxism from books, and constantly modified and enriched it in the light of further reading and experiences. It eventually caused him to break away from textbook Marxist-Leninism and the dogma of communist countries.

Che's attempt to reforge a brand of communism whose historical mainspring was not so much the class struggle as mankind itself is surely the central piece of the jigsaw. His determination to put that idea into practice governed the whole of his life.

In 1955, Che was chosen as expedition doctor by the group that wanted to overthrow the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista. By 1959, when the guerrillas swept into Havana, he had become one of their most respected leaders because of his military prowess and because he practised an egalitarian moral code that reinforced the struggle against a totally corrupt dictatorship.

He organised the people's army, pushed through agrarian reform, headed the central bank, became industry minister and represented Cuba at international organisations. Above all, he became Fidel Castro's close friend.

If Cormier is to be believed, their friendship was above all a pact between two super-machos. In Mexico in 1955, they had spent a "sleepless night" talking about "social issues". Then, after one of Che's first exploits as a guerrilla, Fidel exclaimed: "Che is a *cojonudo*, he's a real warrior."

Their friendship was above all founded on a shared culture and vision of the future revolution (Che read the first two books of Das Kapital only in 1962). Both men venerated the great 19th century liberators of the continent that José Marti, champion of Cuban independence, called "our America".

Their philosophy was marked by a Rousseauist conception of mankind and nature, and completely opposed the "American way of life". It hinged on the belief that a society perverted by capitalism can be regenerated by the emergence of what Che called the revolutionary "new man".

During his five years as politician and statesman, he was determined to bring his actions into line with his philosophy. To do that, he decided to abolish the law of value in exchange, the notion of profit in dealings between companies, and material criteria in the payment of individuals, which were to be replaced by "moral incentives".

This resulted in a public debate in Cuba that lasted the whole of 1963 and part of 1964, and whose complexity has been equalled only by the polemic that divided the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution.

Cormier skates over the impassioned and vital nature of the debate. True, it is hard to lend a theoretical discussion the intensity of a Dumas novel. Yet the fate of a whole society hung in the balance, and it would have been nice to have the opinion of at least one Cuban party cadre, engineer or worker with experience of that debate.

Eventually an anti-Che faction developed in the party machine: longstanding Communist Party members did not take kindly to the sacrilegious questioning of "socialism as it actually exists" in the Soviet Union, while the new technocrats saw Che as a threat to their burgeoning privileges — and he was an Argentine to boot.

Che lost the battle. In 1964 he was in effect stripped of responsibility for domestic affairs, and set off to represent Cuba throughout the world. He began to propound that same philosophy at international gatherings: the socialist camp, if it really wished to remain socialist, could not practise the laws of the market within its boundaries.

He said as much at the United Nations in New York in 1964, and again in Algiers: "If we establish that kind of relationship, we shall have to admit that the socialist countries are to a certain extent the accomplices of capitalist exploitation."

The break came a few weeks later. Castro met Che at Havana airport. It was to be Che's last public appearance. What did the two men say to each other? The only person who knew was Osvaldo Dorticós, president of the republic, who committed suicide.

Cormier, who devotes less than a page to the question, recounts the most plausible scenario in rather implausible terms. They shut themselves away "to have the whole thing out: Fidel realised that his friend had a new vision of underdevelopment and that he was moving towards Third Worldism."

It is hard to see what "new vision" Che could have had, since for the previous five years he had consistently propounded arguments they shared. But the militant's straight talking was no longer acceptable to the Cuban leader, who had to allow for *raison d'état*. Castro had little room for manoeuvre, caught between the punishing blockade imposed by the US and his Soviet ally's dream of turning Cuba into a satellite.

**Che was a humanist who, in order to forge 'new men', did not care how many fell by the wayside**

Did Moscow really "berate" Castro and demand Che's dismissal? Whatever the case, Che resigned from all his posts and even gave up his Cuban nationality. But he could still fall back on military endeavour. He secretly slipped out of the country to set up other centres of revolutionary struggle in the world. Castro shared Che's view that the creation of any new or anti-imperialist activity could only help the cause of the Cuban revolution.

But did Castro encourage Che's plans or try to dissuade him? Did he, as some believe, send his comrade to his death, or did he do all he could to provide logistic support?

Did Che himself really believe he could win, or was he seeking a form of suicide? After all, he had once written that death mattered little, and was even welcome, as long as his battle cry was heard. These questions have been asked by a great many people in the past 30 years: a serious biography should not have passed over them in silence.

Che left for Africa because he thought a world game was being played out for possession of a continent that was acceding to independence. He tried to support the followers of the murdered Patrice Lumumba in Congo (now Zaire), but failed. Late in 1966 we find him in Bolivia, on the soil of "our America". The episode leading up to his death is ancient history.

Two other new books throw light on Che's last two campaigns. The first, L'Année Où Nous Etions Nulle Part (The Year We Were Nowhere) is a montage by the Mexican novelist Paco Ignacio Taibo II and two Cuban writers of extracts from Che's African diary, interspersed with the testimony of comrades and other texts.

Taibo II explains that Che's presence in Africa was first revealed by confidential remarks made to him in Havana in 1987. "An important member of the Cuban state apparatus" then allowed him to copy extracts from the diary, whose existence had been "the best-kept secret of the Cuban revolution".

In fact, Che's presence in Africa was already known (the Spanish encyclopaedia, Grijalbo, mentions it in its 1986 edition), as indeed was the existence of his diary (Régis Debray saw it in Havana in 1966).

If one is prepared to discount this window-dressing, where the hand of the secret services can be detected, and to ignore the unfortunate way Che's texts have been chopped up, this document is well worth reading for the pathetic account it gives of the attempt to create a "second Vietnam" in the heart of Africa and for its portrait of Che — of a man who was as hard on himself as he was on others, and impossibly demanding when it came to choosing his men. "They should be whittled down from 1,000 to 100, then from 100 to 10, and from 10 to two . . ."

This usefully corrects the usual hagiographical image of Che. He was certainly a humanist, but the kind who, in order to forge "new men", does not care how many fall by the wayside. Debray, who saw him a year later in Bolivia, wrote: "Che seemed to pare down discipline to essentials. He did not dress it up or allow personal relations to get in the way. Is there a charisma of distance?"

That is a question Daniel Alarcon Ramírez, one of the five survivors of the guerrilla war in Bolivia, would certainly answer in the affirmative. His fraternal respect for Che has remained intact after nearly three decades.

His fascinating book is an exceptional document: it describes a feat of unusual heroism, his escape from thousands of Bolivian army rangers and their American advisers; and paints a more vivid picture than his leader's rather dry diary of the people who followed Che and of the country they wanted to "liberate".

In the description of their desperate yet ultimately victorious struggle to survive, the deeper reasons for their revolutionary urges emerge in a simple manner, as does their great love of life, a quality which was probably — and this remains the great mystery — lacking in Che, at least in the closing stages of his life.

(September 1)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani






# UK in grip of power craze

Guardian reporters examine why US utilities are snapping up British electricity companies

GALE KLAPPA, recently appointed as chief executive of Bristol-based South Western Electricity (Sweb), has an unusual qualification among heads of regional electricity companies (RECs).

Far from being an electrical engineer or even an accountant, Mr Klappa specialises in public relations. He holds a degree from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in mass communications. Evidence, if any was needed, of how important image has become in the contentious world of electricity utilities.

Mr Klappa works for the Southern Company, the first American utility to succeed in buying a British REC. Two other US power groups, Houston Industries and Central and South West, are locked in a £1.64 billion takeover battle for Manchester-based Norweb.

Also looking at splashing out billions of dollars on British RECs are Pacific Gas & Electric and Pacificorp. Although Pacificorp pulled out of takeover talks with Chester-based Manweb last week, it has plenty of other RECs to consider.

The American takeover fever has been sparked in part by spare cash. Both Houston and Central and South West dwarf British RECs and have capacious war chests. But they are also expanding abroad to escape the US system of regulation, which has 60 years of experience, operates at state and federal level, and sets a cap on power firms' profits.

The British regulatory system is in turmoil. There is debate about how to adapt the UK system — which provides companies with incentives to improve — to the new world of multinational takeovers.

UK regulators have fewer staff than their US counterparts, are less experienced and far less combative. US agencies have no hesitation in charging utilities with racketeering. UK regulators are reluctant to criticise companies by name, let alone threaten such action.

Southern is no stranger to courtroom battles. The new owner of Sweb is under investigation by US regulators for allegedly collecting excess profits from 1 million electricity customers in its home state of Georgia.

State officials say Georgetown Consulting Group found that the company made excess income by failing to pass on to customers the lower cost of borrowing.

Local consumer activists point to this inquiry and Southern's other legal entanglements as evidence of a history of poor management and high prices. Julie Simons, energy analyst with the consumer group Campaign for Prosperous Georgia, said customers might have lost tens of millions of dollars because neither consumer groups nor regulators can monitor easily the complex accounts of the huge utility.

Doug Teper, a Georgia state legislator who has participated in rate proceedings, said the government had failed to control Georgia Power, Southern's major electricity unit, tightly enough. "Georgia Power pretty much gets their way at the Georgia Commission. They would just overwhelm us, outgun us, outman us, out-paper us. Just stacks and stacks of papers."

Southern had answers to these charges. The company said changes in the weather could cause fluctuations in utility earnings — "eventually, it all evens out" — and that it had good relations with government rate-setters.

But Georgia consumer groups are also firing directly at Sweb's new chief executive and his Southern colleague, Mike Harreld, appointed Sweb finance director.

Neil Herring from the Sierra Club, the state's principal environmental group, claimed that Southern had sent Mr Klappa to the UK in an attempt to influence public sentiment and the political atmosphere. Mr Herring said: "He's no utility man, but a public relations guy."

Rex Smith, who tracked Southern for the Atlanta Business Chronicle, said: "Mr Klappa . . . may be the ultimate spin-doctor. I would not put it past him to stretch the envelope until it's beginning to tear."

Mr Smith expressed concern about Mr Klappa's role under Southern's chief executive officer, Edward Addison, who retired earlier this year.

In 1989, Southern pleaded guilty to making illegal political campaign contributions. A company official had overpaid the utility's advertising agency with instructions to give the excess payments to local politicians. During Mr Addison's tenure it fell to Mr Klappa to explain the power company's spending practices, including shifting lucrative pension fund business to Mr Addison's son.

Southern dismissed the episode: "All this stuff is so long ago." The company had sacked the manager who instigated the illegal payments.

Mr Smith agreed that under the new chief executive, Bill Dahlbarg, "this could be a whole new company".

But some Southern shareholders have filed a civil action alleging racketeering, which may entangle Mr Harreld. The US federal courts have given the investors renewed permission to proceed with claims that the company defrauded them

Gale Kappa: PR man in charge of South Western Electricity

and tax authorities by charging customers for spare parts not actually used at its power plants.

The lawsuit relies on evidence gathered by the US Treasury's Criminal Investigations Division, which filed for but failed to obtain a criminal indictment against the company.

In 1988, a government informant secretly recorded a company accountant apparently implicating Mr Harreld as the top official approving the alleged conspiracy. The tape transcripts include the statement "Harreld agreed with that and said 'OK' ", referring to what officials call a fraudulent accounting scheme.

Southern dismissed the litigation threat. "When you have a company of this size, you always have these lawsuits. No one in this has been charged with any wrongdoing whatsoever," it said.

But the company's legitimate business decisions have also been called into question. In August, America's key credit-rating agency, Moody's Investors Services, calculated that Georgia Power had spent £1 billion on generating plant and power contracts deemed "stranded".

In 1987, regulators penalised Georgia Power for "imprudent" management in constructing its Vogtle nuclear plants, whose cost rose from a planned £600 million to more than £5 billion. Despite the losses absorbed by stockholders, the Vogtle debt continues to push up customers' bills.

Additional reporting by Gregory Palast, specialist consultant in US utilities regulation

## Pressure builds for reform

**REGULATORY reform for Britain's privatised utilities is high on the political agenda and is likely to stay there beyond the next election, *writes Simon Beavis*.**

**The debate is driven by the realisation that should Labour win, not only will windfall taxes on utilities be a reality (if the current Chancellor has not got to the booty first) but that a regulatory shake-up will be a priority.**

**So why do a string of US utilities, deal-hungry conglomerates like Hanson and others, want a power company so desperately, even with windfall taxes and Labour threatening? One reason is that these companies show every sign of remaining cash cows while the regulatory system remains unchanged.**

**Dieter Helm, head of consultancy Oxera and a severe critic of UK regulation, bluntly declares the present system dead. And he argues that there will be problems regulating foreign utilities. Yet the Government has given the go-ahead to Southern Company of Georgia to take control of Sweb in Bristol.**

**Even experts who support the present system of regulation think the bids could require Monopolies Commission (MMC) scrutiny.**

**If ministers are fighting shy of the MMC, they must concede the need to look at regulation. The problem is the political price of doing either is probably too high.**

## Stock Exchange drops Internet veto

Cliff Jones

THE Stock Exchange has retreated from its opposition to live share prices being transmitted over the Internet computer network.

Prices were to be listed in a joint venture between Cambridge firm Electronic Share Information and brokers Sharelink more than three weeks ago. But the project was put on hold when the Exchange announced on the day of the launch that it would not provide real-time prices.

ESI has now withdrawn allegations about the Exchange's apparent breach of contract. Herman Hauser, the founder of ESI, said: "We have reached a fresh understanding with the Stock Exchange and regret any embarrassment which may have been caused to the Exchange."

ESI has announced that it is ready to begin trading. For £5 a month, PC users with a modem and access to the Internet will be able to buy and sell shares through their Sharelink MarketMaster account and will be able to call up the live price of any share before deciding to buy or sell.

The service offers price histories and portfolio management facilities. Charges include a minimum commission of £10, 1 per cent on the first £2,500, and 0.1 on deals above £5,000.

The Exchange has also said it will provide real-time pricing to the Infotrade electronic network, which will be made available to private investors.

The power to buy and sell shares via a computer will be welcomed by investors outside the UK who have access to the Internet, but not to real-time share price listings. In the US these services have, until now, only been available to professional brokers.

Barclays Stockbrokers is the latest broker to open a site on the Internet. Unlike the ESI site, the pages are an information-only service. PC users can access the site for details on shareholder perks such as a 10 per cent discount on Hilton Hotels to shareholders of the Ladbroke Group. The site will be of interest to those new to the stockmarket, providing as it does a beginner's guide to how shares work.

On the banking front, Visa and Microsoft have developed a way for transactions to be processed over the Internet. The companies say that the system, known as Secure Transaction Technology, is extremely security-conscious, and when put into practice will expand the home shopping facilities which have been set back by inadequate security.

Netscape — Microsoft's main competitors for transactions over the Internet — developed the encryption methods for credit card transactions on the virtual shopping mall set up by Barclays in August. But since the launch, a French technology student claims to have found a method to de-encrypt the code and obtain credit card numbers and customers' addresses.

PC users can register for the Sharelink internet service on the Internet at http://www.esi.co.uk. The Barclays Stockbrokers' pages can be found at http://www. Barclays.co.uk

## In Brief

**THE Federal Reserve has barred Daiwa Bank from expanding any trading activity in the US after the Japanese bank's $1.1 billion loss through rogue trading. The FBI has arrested Toshihide Iguchi on charges of falsifying records and forgery.**

**JAPAN'S ministry of finance presented plans to clean the £320 billion mess in its banking system, including public money to bail out financial institutions.**

**UK TRADE and Industry Secretary Ian Lang said that Singapore had a stronger claim on ex-Barings trader Nick Leeson and that a Barings bondholders' summons had nothing to do with the Government.**

**EUROTUNNEL'S embattled chairman Sir Alastair Morton slashed the cost of duty-free alcohol and tobacco by as much as one third. But shares plummeted as the City interpreted the move as a last-ditch attempt to boost passenger business.**

**MICHAEL MILKEN, the former junk bond maestro and convicted criminal, is likely to collect $50 million for advising Ted Turner in the $7.5 billion Time Warner-Turner Broadcasting System deal.**

**CANARY Wharf in London's Docklands, which symbolised the financial crash of the late eighties, has been sold to a US-Saudi consortium including Canadian property speculator Paul Reichmann, whose company built the complex but then collapsed with huge debts.**

**NORWEB, the regional electricity company, was at the centre of a bidding war after an agreed offer from two Texan electricity companies was trumped by a £1.72 billion revised offer from North West Water.**

**BILLIONS of pounds were wiped off London share values as the markets were sent reeling by the Bank of England's unprecedented failure to find buyers for its £3 billion gilts auction.**

### FOREIGN EXCHANGES

| | Sterling rates September 25 | Sterling rates October 2 |
|---|---|---|
| Australia | 2.0946-2.0988 | 2.0892-2.0936 |
| Austria | 15.79-15.83 | 15.85-15.88 |
| Belgium | 46.17-46.28 | 46.37-46.47 |
| Canada | 2.1133-2.1163 | 2.1220-2.1260 |
| Denmark | 8.72-8.73 | 8.74-8.[illegible] |
| France | 7.77-7.78 | 7.77-7.78 |
| Germany | 2.2446-2.2477 | 2.2545-2.2578 |
| Hong Kong | 12.14-12.16 | 12.21-12.22 |
| Ireland | 0.9777-0.9802 | 0.9782-0.9787 |
| Italy | 2,538-2,541 | 2,545-2,549 |
| Japan | 156.86-157.13 | 156.22-156.48 |
| Netherlands | 2.5148-2.5181 | 2.5248-2.5281 |
| New Zealand | 2.3788-2.3817 | 2.4085-2.4104 |
| Norway | 9.88-9.90 | 9.91-9.92 |
| Portugal | 235.54-236.17 | 236.46-237.11 |
| Spain | 195.21-195.50 | 195.08-195.35 |
| Sweden | 10.97-10.99 | 10.92-10.95 |
| Switzerland | 1.8066-1.8094 | 1.8231-1.8260 |
| USA | 1.5710-1.5720 | 1.5798-1.5808 |
| ECU | 1.2123-1.2138 | 1.2161-1.2174 |

FTSE100 Share Index up 13.2 at [illegible]. FTSE 250 Index up 42.4 at [illegible]. Gold up [illegible] at [illegible].

# Ticket to ride

Colin Luckhurst



THE ANNUAL fact-finding mission was undertaken this year in Umbria as August gave way to September. It sounds so much more dignified to call one's holiday a fact-finding mission. This is a lesson I have learned from our elected representatives, the tribunes of the people who, when not in danger of being overheard, add a word to turn the phrase into "a fact-finding freebie".

The usual suspects assembled at Stansted for the flight to Florence, from where we took a train (an element of an integrated transport system of which Italy has much to be proud) to arrive at our starting point — the hill town of Cortona. Here we collected the four brand new, 18-speed mountain bikes on which we were to attack our pre-planned itinerary — a wide sweep through Umbria, across a few serious mountain ranges, to Assisi before returning westwards to finish at Orvieto.

It proved to be a great success, although each day's ride seemed to end like a stage in the Tour de France. By definition, all Umbrian hill top towns are on the top of a hill for reasons of climate or defence, so at the end of each day's ride the final challenge was always to get up the hill to the hotel where our luggage would be awaiting our arrival, delivered by the tour company. Montone, Assisi, Montefalco, and Todi, all stages of the ride, as well as Orvieto, the final destination, tested our already tired legs. And we all passed, despite being into our sixth decade.

Cortona, our inaugural night's stop, was having its annual festival to celebrate the mushroom crop. Dinner for 25,000 lire (that's about £10 and yes, they ought to revalue this sadly depreciated currency), including wine and four courses, seemed a reasonable option. So we took it, under the trees, in company with a large number of local residents.

On our third day, we arrived, after a heavy thunderstorm, in Assisi. This interlude became known as the nightmare in Assisi because the four of us had failed to note the name of the hotel into which we had been booked. It was cold (yes, I know Italy is not supposed to be cold in August but this evening was), and there are more than 100 hotels in Assisi.

WE DID NOT know where to start. We rang the tour company in England but they had an answering machine on, as it was a Bank Holiday in England. We tried about 20 hotels, a friendly porter rang round a further dozen. By 8pm we were getting cold when, at last, the tour company rep answered her phone. The hotel, warm and welcoming, was about 200 yards from where we were.

The next day we rode to Montefalco, following a route round the high shoulders of Mount Subasio, to a fine two-day rest at the Hotel Villa Pambuffetti, which provided all the comforts of a top country hotel. From Todi to Orvieto we had the longest ascent but were spurred on by superb scenery through the olive groves and sunflowers as we climbed 2,750 feet to the watershed.

Florence, from which we returned on a late evening flight, gave us a time-management problem we could only solve by adding to the polluting stain of international mass tourism on the historic city.

The length of the queue meant we could not get into the famed Uffizi Palace art gallery. The Ponte Vecchio, focus of so many cameras, is a well-known tourist trap — prices are in yen first. Two cappuccinos and pastries cost £12, but we were allowed to sit down. We would have been happier back on the high Umbrian hills with swallows darting past. Over five days we had cycled 140 miles with an aggregate of ascents of 8,850 feet. Perversely, we finished at 415 feet lower than we started, which shows that we were, in fact, riding downhill all week.

## Chess Leonard Barden

WHILE Kasparov and Anand compete for $1.5 million in New York, spare a thought for Britain's grandmasters trying to make ends meet. Since the USSR dissolved, open tournaments throughout Europe attract scores of hungry GMs from ex-Soviet republics, who sometimes operate as a team to ensure a share of the prize fund.

Only the most competitive westerners succeed in this company, and three of them are from the UK. Tony Miles, Julian Hodgson and Matthew Sadler have all won or finished high up in several opens in recent months.

Hodgson won the US National Open at Las Vegas in the spring, and Amsterdam in the summer. He and Michael Adams pioneered and popularised 1 d4 Nf6 2 Bg5, with the aggressive refinement 2 . . . Ne4 3 h4!? which frightens off many opponents. In this week's game from Las Vegas, Black "escapes" Hodgson's threat as early as move one, but still falls for the type of speculative attack at which the Londoner excels.

**Julian Hodgson-Aviv Friedman, English Opening**

**1 d4 e6 2 g3 c5 3 Nf3 Nf6 4 c4 cxd4 5 Nxd4 Qc7 6 Nc3!?** Offering the gambit Qxc4 7 e4 Qc5 8 Be3. **Bb4 7 Qb3 Nc6 8 Ndb5 Qa5 9 a3 a6 10 axb4?!** Stronger is 10 Nc7+ Qxc7 11 axb4 when Nd4? loses a piece to 12 Qd1 Qxc4 13 e4 Qxb4 14 Ra4.

**Qxa1 11 Nd6+ Ke7 12 Qd1 Nxb4 13 Bg2 Na2 14 Nxa2 Qxa2 15 0-0 Rd8? Ne8! 16 Qd4! Kf8 17 Bg5 Kg8 18 Bxf6 gxf6 19 Qxf6 Rf8 20 Rd1 a5** The best finish is Qa5 21 Rd5! exd5 22 Nf5 and mates.

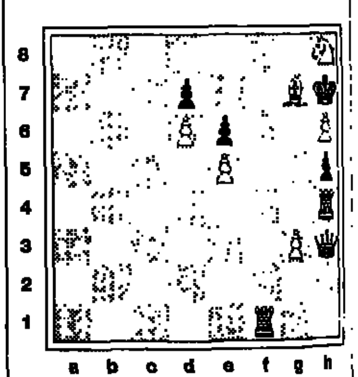
**21 Be4 Ra6** Or h6 22 Nxc8 Raxc8 23 Qxh6 f5 24 Rxd7 and wins. **22 Qg5+ Kh8 23 Qh6 Resigns.**

Coinciding with the world title match, Batsford has issued contrasting chess biographies of the two players. Garry Kasparov's Fighting Games, by Kasparov, Jon Speelman and Bob Wade (£14.99), is a comprehensive and lucid overview, with 150 games annotated by Kasparov and Speelman. These range from obscure childhood wins to the key encounters with Karpov, the Short match, and the "hand of God" game with Judit Polgar.

Vishy Anand: Chess Super-Talent, by David Norwood (£12.99), is an easy read, but simply does not deliver its title. It has only 35 games, and 15 of these are losses and draws, by far the most negative balance I can recall in any chess biography. While several Anand brilliancies are omitted, his defeat against Norwood at Blackpool gets the full treatment and even Batsford editor Graham Burgess weighs in with his draw against Vishy at Prestwich.

Chapters headed "Child Of India" and "Early Years" sounded promising, but Norwood's book has just three games played by Anand in his home country, a win and two defeats against Kamsky at Sanghi Naghar. Anand saw an advance copy and expressed "disappointment", which from the mild-mannered Vishy is equivalent to fury from Kasparov. It's a justified reaction.

**No 2390**




White mates in three moves, against any defence (by F Giegold). A huge material advantage, but a traffic jam of white pieces.

**No 2389:** 1 Kc6 Bf3+ 2 Kb5 Bd1 3 Bf4! and Kc6-c7. Now Black's B must guard a4 while White prepares Be3 Ka8 (to stop Nxa4+) Nd7 with Nb6 and Nxa4+. Black then gives up B for P and White mates with K+B+N.

## Quick crossword no. 282

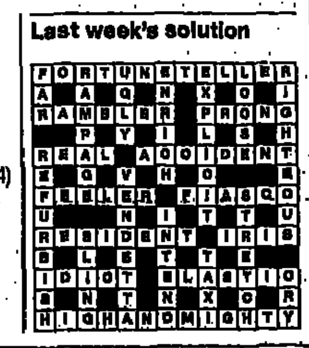
**Across**

1 Solid figure (4)
3 Sensational (8)
8 Noisy (4)
9 Parliamentary official (5,3)
11 Temperateness (10)
14 Prosper (6)
15 Come as increment (6)
17 Big keyboard instrument (5,5)
20 Alien, no favourite! (8)
21 Not barefoot (4)
22 Deprive of movement (8)
23 Small bird (4)

**Down**

1 Disaster (8)
2 Limit (8)
4 Tell (6)
5 Magnifying instrument (10)
6 Rotate or go the other way (4)
7 Surrender (4)
10 As mentioned in familiar saying (10)
12 Clergyman (8)
13 Obligated (8)
16 If not (6)
18 Ostentatious ceremoniousness (4)
19 Heavenly body (4)

**Last week's solution**




## Bridge Zia Mahmood

I DON'T often accept invitations to speak at bridge clubs, but when the offer is accompanied by a game of golf, I am easily seduced. That was how I came to visit the South Bucks Bridge Centre last month, in company with the British international player, Michele Handley.

Naturally, Michele and I also played some bridge and, among the many dramatic deals, we introduced one or two as a learning opportunity for our guests. See what you would make of this hand as declarer:

| South | North |
|---|---|
| ♠ A 9 5 2 | ♠ K Q 10 3 |
| ♥ A K Q | ♥ J 5 4 |
| ♦ K J 2 | ♦ A Q 4 |
| ♣ K 7 6 | ♣ A Q J |

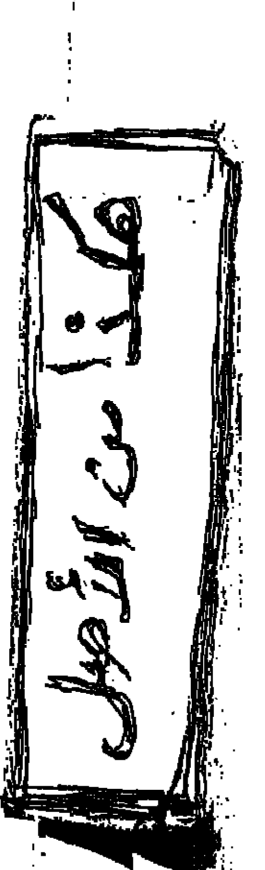
The bidding has been brief but effective — you open 2NT as South and are raised to 7NT by North. After all, she has 19 points and you have at least 20, so you ought to have some sort of play for 13 tricks! What would your plan of campaign be in your grand slam after West leads the 10 of diamonds?

You should start, as always, by counting your top tricks — those you can certainly cash. Here, you have just three tricks in each suit, so you will need to extract a 13th from somewhere. The only possibility is the spade suit, of course — if this divides 3-2, or if the jack falls singleton on the first round, then you will be able to cash four tricks without difficulty. If the suit is 4-1 or 5-0, you can still succeed provided that you correctly guess — or deduce — which hand has the length. You can arrange to finesse against ♠Jxxx in either hand, so it would assist you greatly to discover which of your opponents might have such a holding.

Very often at bridge you can postpone a critical decision until you have enough information to make that decision correctly. Here, you can try to obtain a count in the three suits apart from spades before committing yourself to the spade suit. By "obtaining a count", we mean that you can discover how many cards each opponent has in each suit. The full deal is pictured (above right).

| | North | |
|---|---|---|
| | ♠ K Q 10 3 | |
| | ♥ J 5 4 | |
| | ♦ A Q 4 | |
| | ♣ A Q J | |
| West | | East |
| ♠ 4 | | ♠ J 8 7 6 |
| ♥ 7 3 | | ♥ 10 9 8 6 2 |
| ♦ 10 9 8 6 5 | | ♦ 7 3 |
| ♣ 10 8 5 3 2 | | ♣ 9 4 |
| | South | |
| | ♠ A 9 5 2 | |
| | ♥ A K Q | |
| | ♦ K J 2 | |
| | ♣ K 7 6 | |

You win the diamond lead and play two more rounds of that suit. East shows out on the third, so West started with five diamonds and East with two. You play off the hearts, discovering that West started with two and East with five. Finally, three rounds of clubs reveal that West began with five cards in that suit also. You have now obtained a "complete count" — you know the entire distribution of the hand. West started with two hearts, five diamonds, five clubs — and only one spade. You cash the king and queen of spades, then finesse the nine and score up your grand slam.







Foetal shrine . . . Jizo dolls left at a Japanese temple by women who have had abortions

# Japan swallows the Pill

The land of the Rising Sun hopes for a boost to sex and planned births, writes **Kevin Rafferty**

THIRTY-SIX years after the rest of the world, Japanese women are about to get the Pill. A government health panel has given its blessing to the production of the contraceptive and its sale on prescription from a doctor. It is expected to be made available next year.

The decision could have far-reaching repercussions, with some leading figures hoping that the Pill may revive men's interest in sex and lead to an increase in the birthrate.

While the rest of the world ponders the population explosion, Japan is concerned with its historically low birthrate.

Some economists estimate that, if present trends continue, the country's population will decline from today's 123 million to 46,000 by the 22nd century, a prediction that is worrying nationalist politicians.

For years the government held up contraceptive pill approval because of safety fears. The development of the low-dosage pill removed some of these doubts, but the government stuck to its claim that widespread use of the Pill could lead to the spread of Aids.

However, after conducting a study of other countries, a health committee last month concluded that there was no connection between the Pill's usage and the spread of HIV.

The advent of the Pill will change the reliance on condoms, abortions and sexual abstinence — increasingly used as a birth control measure. Condoms are frequently offered door to door by saleswomen selling a gross at a time.

But the high condom failure rate has led to a high number of abortions. In the 1960s the abortion rate peaked at more than 1 million per year. "I was too young and frightened," said one teenager, "so I had an abortion, which is easy to get and few questions are asked."

Nevertheless, she felt uneasy about the termination and put a small stone statue memorial outside the graveyard of a Buddhist temple. She put a bib and a small plastic Mickey Mouse around the statue's neck. It joined hundreds of statues which can be seen at important temples.

At one temple in Kamakura these *jizo* are readily available for 1,000 to 10,000 yen each (£6 to £62). Most have some article of clothing attached as well as a toy, while some couples inscribe a name on the back.

The number of terminations has fallen to 400,000 a year. But the latest worrying trend is sexless relationships and condom manufacturers are concerned.

A spokesman at the Okamoto company said that sales in the 1990s have declined steadily. "Sex has lost its appeal to the average male and Japanese married couples," he said.

Dr Suzuki at Keio Hospital in Tokyo announced: "Many young guys are not as *genki* (lively) as a few years ago. When we take a sperm count we ask men to refrain from sex for five days to get an accurate figure. In the past, most guys would tell the doctor they would come back the following week, but lately many of them haven't had sex for five days or more and opt to have the test there and then." — *The Observer*

## Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

**IS MAN the only animal that experiences baldness as a common sign of advancing age? What evolutionary advantage does this provide — or why else does it occur?**

BALDNESS is usually only prevalent in older men, ie those who will have had children. As mating and the passing on of one's genes is the driving force for natural selection, it will not be affected by baldness. This is also seen in diseases with late onset, such as Alzheimer's. — *Jamie Rylance, Birmingham*

THE evolutionary advantage contained in the process of male age-related balding is simple enough. The attraction felt by younger women towards older men is reduced by the men's balding, thereby ensuring young women mate with men of their own age. This enables their offspring to enjoy the advantages of having a father who doesn't die before the children reach maturity. As with most evolutionary processes, however, the need for a long-lived partner and father can be offset by vast amounts of money. — *Moss Madden, Liverpool*

**WHAT was the single most profitable financial transaction in the history of civilisation?**

THE scramble for Africa, in which colonialists paid nothing but continue to reap billions in "invisible" profits to this day. — *Nana Asare Yeboah, Tsuchiura, Japan*

**WHY IS cruelty not one of the seven deadly sins?**

THE "deadliness" of the sins is a cultural by-product of the times. As moral values, they should always be questioned as to whether they have passed their "sell-by" date. Pride, anger and apathy can be virtues in the proper context; lust is a natural physical urge, the morality-subverting effects of which are better kept in check by rational discourse than demonisation; greed and avarice have, of course, been virtues since the ascendancy of Maggie and Ron; and poor old envy seems to run a poor last as the only one with no redeeming quality, although it is the basis of most tabloid press profits.

The real question is whether cruelty arises independently of other moral weaknesses, and there is ample historical evidence offered by the remembrances of the end of the second world war and the current abomination in the former Yugoslavia to suggest cruelty could easily hold its own place in an up-dated deadly sin league table. — *Michael Boyd, Alma Ata, Kazakhstan*

**I'VE heard of a South American Indian tribe that will not make a major decision until its effect on the next seven generations has been discussed. Does anybody know which tribe and where?**

THE "Seventh Generation" natural products catalogue from Colchester, in Vermont, states on the cover of each issue, "In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations. From the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy." — *John Gills, Elmhurst, Illinois, USA*

**WHERE does the term "blowing a raspberry" come from?**

IT'S rhyming slang for "raspberry tart". Hope that's cleared the air on this one. — *Garry Chambers, London*

## Any answers?

**THE word "cleave" has two opposite meanings — either to stick together or to split apart. What are the origins of this contradiction, and are there any other words that do the same thing?** — *Naomi Delap, Brighton*

**WHEN my toddler son climbs into bed at night, he always ends up lying magnetic north-south, his head to the north. Do humans have an innate compass?** — *Ruth Dekker, Davis, California, USA*

**SOME posters around the time of the Titanic launch also advertised its sister ship, the Olympic. Was this ever built? If so, what happened to it?** — *Johannes Plesner, Copenhagen, Denmark*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.

## Letter from Brittany Robert Lacville

# What goes around comes around

THE COOL sun of autumn and the fresh sea breeze is just what I need for my holiday. It feels good to escape from the heat and steam of the rainy season in West Africa. Of course, I have to undergo my annual culture shock. European toilet seats are so cold! We sit on warm porcelain in the Sahel or squat over a hole. To brush my teeth in Brittany, I have to mix hot and cold water in a tooth mug, to avoid freezing my gums.

And then there is the traffic, which races at unbelievable speeds along unimaginably smooth roads. When I drive my Peugeot back home, I am usually avoiding donkey carts or doing a slalom around puddles and pot holes in Bamako.

While in France, I wanted to pick up some Peugeot spare parts. "I am zo zorry, m'sieu," said the boss of the breaker's yard. "We 'ave just sent 250 wrecked 505s to Ghana. Zere ees not even a windscreen wiper in stock."

How many containers, does it take, I wonder, to send 250 Peugeot wrecks to West Africa? From these 250 accident victims, the mechanical wizards of Kumari will build bush-taxis for the whole Sahel. A car written-off may be worth £600 in France. In Ghana the engine alone will fetch £1,000. A reconditioned Peugeot 505 bush-taxi may cost £1,200 in Africa.

THE OTHER source of vehicles is theft. My Bamako mechanic proved that the Peugeot I had bought had been pinched. He pointed to the new ignition lock and the removal of identification marks.

"Look at the log-book," he said: "It's made in Paris in 1987, but Peugeot stopped making this engine configuration in 1985."

So it is likely that the car had been stolen in 1986, kept in a warehouse for 6 months, then shipped out in a container using false papers. I bought it in 1988, and it is still going strong (by West African standards), on imported second-hand spare parts.

During the holiday I bought two new tyres for the Brittany car, which we keep in storage. We did not want to hold on to the worn tyres, though they are no worse than the tyres I normally use for driving in Bamako. Punctures are so frequent in that city, that I use new tyres only for long journeys. For driving though the jagged streets of Bamako, I use reconditioned tyres that arrive in containers from France.

Now I wonder: how can I be certain that I shall not buy in 1996 in Bamako, the very same worn tyres that I have just thrown away in Brittany?

# A Country Diary

Murray Ferguson

VILLA SERRANO, BOLIVIA: It seems ironic that I am returning from a fruitless search in the village for someone who could fill my water bottle when the first rain in seven months starts to fall. In recent weeks the water supply in this small Andean community has been cut off for days at a time to allow the water level in the dam to rise. The normally blue skies have been tainted by a low-lying smoky haze from the traditional *chaqueo* — the burning of forest and scrub to clear land for new fields.

The rain is very welcome and the atmosphere in the village is positively jovial. The smell of wet earth hangs heavily and visibility is once again exceptionally good in the cool, thin mountain air. Walking through the market I am distracted by the excited gaggle of a group of women brandishing sticks and poking at one of their bread baskets. A small frog, tempted out by the sudden arrival of moisture, had hopped in during the night. The riverbed now has a steady stream of water, a focus of interest for the boys. The water is so full of sediment swept from the mountains that it is the colour of sandpaper.

A condor drifts silently along a line of cliffs. The talk amongst the *campesinos* (farm workers) is of preparing the soil to sow potatoes, maize, chilli peppers and peanuts. Many of the men are still away in the city earning a bit of money in the construction industry or on the sugar cane estates, but the arrival of the rains will bring them back within days.

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**RATCLIFFE, Margaret (Peggy)**, humanist and socialist, daughter of S.K. Ratcliffe, born Calcutta, December 17, 1906, St Hugh's College, Oxford, British Information Service, New York, retired to Brighton; died peacefully September 29, 1995. At her request, no funeral ceremony, drink a glass in her memory. Information: Walter, 134 Northumberland Road, Harrow HA2 7RG.

# Exclusive: white and wronged

The white backlash against alleged racial bias in favour of blacks has torn apart the most hallowed newsroom in America, writes **Jonathan Freedland**. But **Angella Johnson**, right, doubts that the media in Britain deal with the issue any better

*THEY SAY* it was like a cross between the McCarthy hearings, a group therapy session and the Donahue Show. Four hundred journalists from one of America's leading newspapers crammed into a conference room, trading accusations, confessing their pain, and quoting the scriptures — all into the microphone of a senior editor who ran around, Kilroy-style, making sure no one was left out.

One black reporter called colleagues "racist", while two others described a handful of white Washington Post staffers as "gutless". An Italian-American stepped forward to say that, since he was of Mediterranean extraction, he should no longer be referred to as white. A white reporter said he was tired of labouring under a presumption of guilt. The meeting ended with whispered talk of a race war.

That was last month in the offices of the Washington Post, the only paper in the world to have the distinction of a newsroom recognisable to millions, turned into a movie set 20 years ago for All The President's Men. That was the celebration of the Post's finest hour, its exposé of the Watergate scandal that eventually toppled President Richard Nixon.

But the Post is now tasting a bucketload of its own medicine. Suddenly it has become the victim of a scrutiny no less intense than the kind it used to mete out back in the glory days of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. What's more, the harsh light of inquiry is pointed at America's most sensitive spot: race.

In a 13,000-word essay, the New Republic, America's most influential right-wing political magazine, accused the Post of drastically compromising its standards in pursuit of ethnic diversity within and racial harmony without. The magazine quoted anonymous white journalists who complained they had been pushed aside for reporters who were "dumb as a post" but who had been employed because they were black.

The New Republic went further claiming that, in its desperation to curry favour with Washington's majority-black population, the Post had gone soft in its primary task: reporting on America's capital city. The magazine cited detailed examples of stories that were pulled — apparently because they attacked the city's black leadership. Singled out was the paper's free ride for Marion Barry, the four-times mayor who gained worldwide notoriety when he was caught on videotape in 1990 giving himself a blast of crack cocaine. "How did the paper that had broken Watergate miss the story of political corruption right under its nose?" The answer, said the magazine, was the politically correct gospel of "racial sensitivity".

The charges hit deep at the Washington Post, whose editor and publisher last month struck back. They claimed the piece was "shameful" and "false", written by the 24-year-old Ruth Shalit, whose short career has already been distinguished by two apologies for suspected plagiarism. They added that the New Republic itself has never had a single black member of staff, making it "the last practitioner of de facto segregation since Mississippi".

*BUT THERE* is more to this row than a squabble among the grandees of the Washington media, or even a civil war inside one of America's great newspapers. It is, instead, a revealing case study of the perils of affirmative action, the 30-year-old policy of giving a legal head-start to women and ethnic minorities. The backlash by white reporters against enforced "diversity" in the newsroom is a neat expression of the wider American "whitelash", one which reveals the human reality of what has become the country's most explosive issue.

Those who have been inside the Post newsroom know there is at least a grain of truth to the New Republic account. I was lucky enough to work there during the summer of 1992, covering the presidential election campaign. I fell for the Washington Post, for the warmth of its staff and for their sheer professionalism.



Glory days . . . the Washington Post's Bernstein (left) and Woodward during the heady days of Watergate

But race was never far away from the surface. I remember once suggesting a look at the nation's most prominent black leader, the Rev Jesse Jackson. I was told that coverage of the black firebrand was best left to a black reporter. The purpose of this was not to ensure a flattering piece, quite the opposite. Post editors felt a white journalist would be bound to "gush" about Jackson, and only a black reporter could see through the hype.

I remember a chat about my hypothetical job prospects on the Post. I was told that being a white male was bad enough, but being British, well, that was like being "an ultra-white male". I asked whether any of this made sense, since readers of the Post — which eschews photo bylines — had no idea of the ethnicity of the paper's writers. It was then I learned about the concept of the "ethnic byline" and about the white male colleague who was blessed with a name that made him sound like a Hispanic woman. His rise through the paper has barely paused.

The important thing about the experience of the Washington Post is that it, like the doctrine of affirmative action itself, has been informed only by good intentions. What the architects of the policy wanted was to make up for two centuries of racism and white male advantage.

What they unleashed, however, was a cure that superficially replicates the disease. The white males of the Washington Post newsroom, like their counterparts in the fire brigades of Miami or the colleges of California, claim *they* are the victims of racism now, pushed aside because of their colour.

It's a tall claim, given the fact that white males still run the show in America. There may be huge anger at the programmes designed to steer federal contracts at ethnic businessmen, but, in fact, firms owned by minorities and women still only get 6 per cent of all government work. There may be white resentment on campus, but blacks are still severely under-represented in proportion to their numbers in society at large.

In this regard, the Post is no different. For all the noise generated by the newspaper's Angry White Males, the Post's top three editors — including the person responsible for diversity — are white men.

The bottom line is that race is the country's deepest problem, and there are no easy solutions. Do nothing, and you risk a permanent black underclass and the threat of a race war. Pursue affirmative action and whites will complain of quotas, while blacks will forever fear their advancement will be regarded as an act of tokenism.

The Supreme Court has ruled on the matter now, deciding that every judgment based on race is unconstitutional, unless it is to serve a "compelling interest". That vague language has been interpreted to mean affirmative action is out — unless it is truly the only way of remedying a problem.

The Republican right is pushing for even tighter rules, with the entire 1996 presidential field committed to rolling back the "diversity" policies now under fire at the Post.

The eventual answer, for the newspaper and the country, might be a new "race-neutral" affirmative action, which will define disadvantage not by sex or race but by economic means. Either way, the dreams of multi-ethnic harmony pursued by the Post seem unlikely to survive. The political winds of America are blowing in the other direction. And they are chilly indeed.



Troubled times . . . Many whites are worried blacks are overtaking them, but it's a tall claim — firms owned by minorities and women still only get 6 per cent of all government contracts

## Black faces — but only in the canteens

***IT SEEMS* that whenever black people move into an industry where they are under-represented, the cry from white colleagues is: "They're only here because they're black."**

**The charge against the Washington Post could not be made against any media organisation in Britain. The black population is simply not powerful enough to be worth courting. Yet only last week a colleague remarked that a black journalist had been hired by a newspaper when they should not have been.**

**In Britain, there are few non-white faces in mainstream media. As soon as someone decides to redress the balance, the dominant white culture immediately assumes that inferior people are being recruited, that black people will not come up to scratch. These attitudes are residues of slavery, where the ideology of superiority was used to justify a barbaric industry, and are now deep in the white psyche.**

**There has been a backlash against equality initiatives in Britain. It is unlawful to have quotas, so the BBC and ITC have "target levels", with special schemes implemented by a number of television companies to train people from ethnic backgrounds.**

**Tory MPs periodically attack the BBC for what they see as discriminatory policies in favour of minority groups. Earlier this year, Toby Jessel, MP for Twickenham, complained that it was counterproductive for the BBC "to allow those with bees in their bonnets to let rip, spending a lot of money on them".**

**But the programmes produce benefits. BBC Television has reached its 8 per cent target three years ahead of schedule — but that figure also includes its black canteen staff. An ITC annual performance review for 1994 shows that GMTV has 6.3 per cent of ethnic minorities; Channel 4 has 9 per cent; Carlton has 7.8 per cent, and LWT 6 per cent.**

**Unlike broadcasting, newspapers have no ethnic monitoring. Out of about 5,000 journalists on British newspapers, fewer than 30 are black or Asian.**

**Chris Myant of the Commission for Racial Equality laments the fact that newspaper jobs are rarely advertised. "This has a discriminatory effect on people getting work. Black people usually don't have access to the kind of network where vacancies are relayed via word of mouth."**

**In the past, editors have justified the rarity of black faces in their newsrooms with the argument that "they don't apply" and continue to insist that recruitment is based on merit.**

**Is there some genetic propensity which makes white, middle-class males particularly gifted at print journalism? The answer is clearly no. But most of the developed world has been controlled by middle-class white males for so long that it is difficult for them to accept any shifting in the balance. People do not concede power easily — it gives them privileges they take for granted.**





# The tribe that found a fortune

Native Americans in Connecticut have tapped an unlikely source of riches. **Ian Katz** reports

*CHARLES ROGERS* leans back in his executive chair and recalls his "tragically poor" upbringing. How he was picked on at Gallop Hill Elementary because he only had two sets of clothes. How he quit school in eleventh grade so he could work at Mr Pizza and as a construction labourer. Rogers is 27; but now, only by sleeping fewer than four hours a night can he balance running his three companies with his duties as director of construction and water distribution for the Mashantucket Pequot tribe. His salary from the tribe is "more than most people earn in a couple of years" but he doesn't have time to spend it.

When he had a local contractor in to finalise details for a $12.5 million water purification plant recently, the contractor was the man for whom he used to labour. "It is a sweet reversal," Rogers admits. He has an infectious enthusiasm but his rise was not achieved without a little help from the Foxwoods Casino, a blue plastic and glass confection in drab eastern Connecticut.

The casino was built with borrowed Malaysian money by the Mashantucket Pequot tribe under a federal law that allows gaming on Native American reservations. (It is banned everywhere else except Nevada, Atlantic City and on riverboats.) The law was meant to help Native Americans become economically independent but few tribes have done well. Foxwoods is perfectly located (20 million people live within 100 miles), and pulled in the punters from day one. With its two hotels, it makes $1 billion a year; the most profitable casino in America, perhaps the world. In three years it has transformed the 322 Mashantucket Pequots from some of the poorest people in the United States to some of the richest.

Their leader, Richard "Skip" Hayward, jets into Washington for White House dinners and cruises with the Sultan of Brunei. Hayward's political clout extends far beyond those who chose him as chairman of the tribal council: last year the tribe gave $500,000 to the Democratic Party, tossing the Republicans $50,000 for good measure.

In eastern Connecticut, ravaged by defence cuts, the Pequots have all but taken control of the economy. The tribe tops up state coffers by $100 million every year and directly employs 10,000 men and women. Everyone with something to sell wants to know a Mashantucket Pequot. Joey Carter, who oversees his own $4 million rock-crushing business when not serving as the tribe's front man, is in constant demand. Eight years ago, he was chopping trees for $5 an hour and living in a two-bedroom apartment with seven other people.

What makes this story remarkable is that the Mashantucket Pequots were once considered extinct. The Native Americans who inhabited the eastern seaboard were the first to be driven off their land by European settlers, and the first to catch their diseases. What bugs and force did not achieve, three-and-a-half centuries of interbreeding did. A decade ago, the federal government did not acknowledge a single Indian tribe in the six New England states.

The Pequots, who once controlled half of what is now Connecticut, seemed consigned to the history books. They fought and lost the Pequot War of 1637, and were all but wiped out when English troops torched their homes by the Mystic River. A treaty signed the following year even forbade the few survivors from calling themselves Pequots.

But a small group clung for three centuries to two reservations near the town of Ledyard. By the mid-18th century the group on the Mashantucket reservation had dwindled to 150; a few more families occupied the "Eastern" reservation a mile away. For most of the 20th century the Mashantucket population has been under 100.

All of which is recorded in a small museum in Foxwoods. Money buys the ability to write history, and the Mashantucket Pequots are investing heavily. Eight years ago the proceeds of their growing bingo business funded an historical conference. With the casino they have raised their sights: work on a $140 million museum is under way.



No reservations . . . staff wear 'authentic' Mashantucket Pequot tribal dress to serve punters
PHOTO: LAURIS SPARHAM

Few conversations on the reservation go on for long without a reference to the 1637 "war of genocide"; but memories of more recent iniquities are always forthcoming. Chris Pearson, aged 35, training to be the tribe's spokesman, slams a fist on his steering wheel as he recalls the only time his grandmother received a Christmas present from the family whose house she cleaned. "She was so touched and she opened it up and it was a used maid's uniform. It hadn't even been cleaned."

*LAURA PORTER*, aged 62, moved to the reservation a few years ago from Atlantic City, where she had struggled to bring up four children alone. Now one of her children runs the post office and the other three are being supported while they study. Porter is revered as a tribal elder and will shortly move into a luxurious ranch-style house built for her.

Ever since the money began flowing in, the tribe has been building luxury homes to accommodate the returning Pequots and snapping up land around the reservation at inflated prices. Anyone who can prove that they are a Mashantucket Pequot — a blood descendant of one of the nine alive in 1900 — is entitled to a highly paid job and home with an interest-free mortgage, medical and educational bills. As part of its attempt to re-establish itself as a "nation", the tribe has also invested in luxurious community and sports centres. Work is well under way on a new centre for the reservations "emergency services"; it already has its own police force.

So anyone who can has rediscovered their tribal roots. Joyce Walker, aged 48, moved from Indiana after her husband's car repair business ran into trouble. Now she is training to run the Pequots' retail operation and recently bought her husband a diamond ring to replace the heirloom he had given her for their engagement.

She bought herself a white Cadillac too, and diamond rings for all but two of her fingers: "I don't have to worry about someone catching up with me and demanding payments like I used to."

The tribe also hears from wannabe Pequots who would have trouble spelling the name let alone dating the Pequot War. "We even have people ringing up to ask if they have a baby on the reservation, will it be a Pequot," says Pearson.

Pequot identity is confused by the generations of interbreeding with other ethnic groups, which means that few tribal members look the way you expect them to, or even much like each other. Pearson had a Yorkshire-born father and another infusion of English blood from his maternal grandfather. Around a quarter of Mashantucket Pequots are dark-skinned, the product of marriages into the black community, which for years created a bitter racial divide within the tribe.

The tribe has spent millions exhuming its largely lost culture. Wayne Reels, the director of cultural programmes, encourages the teaching of the Pequot language but admits it is difficult to establish exactly what the language is because no one has spoken it for years.

The Pequots have discovered that money brings its own problems. At the casino, Bruce Kirchner, the highest-ranking tribal member in a corporate structure dominated by outsiders, struggles to balance the demands of ambitious but often poorly qualified Pequots who nevertheless earn twice as much as other staff members. "The tribe is like a big family," says Kirchner. "If you have a family-owned business, the family expect to be treated a little differently."

For Gina Brown, aged 40, a former cleaner who came to the reservation to nurse her dying father, the hardest thing is just keeping on an even keel when suddenly anything seems possible. "I'm trying to squeeze 30 years of life into three. It's just like a coiled spring, you wind it tight and you give it freedom and it just goes 'boing'."

Pequots must also deal with new hostility from neighbouring communities. They now face envy and irritation over the tribe's appetite for land. In the 12 years since the Mashantucket Pequots won their precious federal recognition, they have added almost 3,000 acres to the 214-acre rump of their reservation, and every day add more — a luxury hotel, a restaurant, industrial property. Conspicuous success has also created tensions with other tribes. Reels, a top Native American dancer who performed at the Goodwill Games in Russia, says: "I understand that the money is important. Sometimes I give it back when I win."

Among other eastern tribes, many struggling for federal recognition, the bitterness runs deeper. On a ramshackle reservation barely two miles from Foxwoods, a few families scratch a meagre living. They are the Eastern Pequots, under the control of the Naragansett tribe, unlike Mashantucket Pequots who were ruled by the Uncas and Mohegans.

Marriages between the two tribes have enabled several Eastern Pequots to claim Mashantucket membership. But the Mashantucket Pequots refuse to share their riches with the 500 Eastern Pequots who do not qualify. "We share a legacy, a history and a culture," says Eustace Lewis, who describes himself as an Eastern Pequot tribal council member and genealogist. "We just don't share the casino."

## It's a hard road for a woman travelling alone

Business travel can be lonely and dangerous for women. **Kate Barry** has an answer to the problem

*IT IS MY* first trip alone on business. I am staying in a top West Country hotel and I don't know whether to laugh or cry. At dinner, the waiter resembles Mr Spock. Does his raised eyebrow mean he is a) approving not only my outfit, but also my choice of wine? Or b) expressing scorn because I have ordered chardonnay not chablis, and a whole bottle at that?

An alarming-looking man adds to my anxiety. He peers surreptitiously at me over a menu. I try to reassure myself. He is amused because I am squashed on a table next to the kitchen, while he has a wonderful window view.

Frustrated by the lack of information and support available to female business travellers, property developer Diana Newhofer has set up Global Network, an organisation to put women on the move in touch with one another. Members pay a one-off fee to join, then an annual subscription. "Each time a member travels on business, she tells us where she is going," Newhofer explains. "We supply details of other members who will be in the same place, then leave it to the women to contact each other. Women travelling on business alone often find themselves at a loose end in the evenings. Through the network, they will be able to connect with like-minded people."

Global Network plans to operate worldwide and to provide information on hotels, restaurants and leisure facilities. It is hoped that these recommendations will also help to improve women's safety.

"Some hotels do take a lot of care," says Diana Lamplugh, director of the Suzy Lamplugh Trust. "But women travelling alone on business need to take exactly the same precautions as they should in any work situation."

For Lynn Everson, who runs a translation agency, precautionary advice would have been welcome on a research trip to Spain. She can laugh now when recalling her initial experience. "Spanish is my language, but I did not have any contacts there at first. When I asked the taxi driver for my hotel, it was obvious something was wrong. He was extremely reluctant to take me. When I insisted, he dropped me outside, then shot off down the road without even closing the car door properly. Then I realised that my hotel was right in the red light district."

The glamour of business travel can fade very quickly. Like most women, when work is over, I want to unwind in comfort and have a decent conversation only if I want to. Newhofer agrees. "Often the only people I spoke to were hotel staff at mealtimes. I felt so withdrawn and isolated."

The loneliness of the long-distance traveller gets to many women. As a music and entertainments publicist, Nicky Pope travelled worldwide. "In the beginning, there was the excitement of 17 TV channels, a basket of fruit and a mini-bar in my room," she recalls. "That novelty wore off fast. Australia was my most miserable time. Sitting in bed with jet-lag, ordering take-away pizza and phoning home."

Narda Shirley left her information technology sales job after two years because of the demands of frequent travel. "I visited my territory in Holland and Germany for a few days every three weeks. I negotiated annual contracts and was in and out of meetings in a couple of hours, so I never got to know any contacts well enough to suggest something social like dinner. I felt horribly self-conscious eating alone in public. I just stayed in my room, desperately lonely."

Research among businesswomen by Expotel Hotel Reservations revealed more anxiety-inducing moments. "One woman woke to find the hotel manager, who had taken a fancy to her, letting himself into her room. Luckily she managed to make him leave," says Elle Pilkington, who co-ordinates the study.

Faced with such findings, and the growing numbers of businesswomen, many hotels are responding with female-friendly policies: discreet service, rooms that have proper locks and peepholes, and are close to lifts, and security at the end of a telephone. Women can feel safer in such places, but many still feel uncared for. Nicky Pope would like to see alternatives to the bar for relaxation: "Somewhere with big sofas, where you can have a coffee and read a book."

When women do leave their hotels, especially overseas, safety means being aware of what to expect. "Know the place you are going to, its laws, its attitudes to women and its culture," says Lamplugh.

Global Network can be contacted on (+44) 171-722 9565

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 8 1995

# A country girl no more

MUSIC
**Michael Ellison**

*RAGGED* derelicts on crutches shuffle across Jackson Square in front of the St Louis cathedral, competing with the stench of urine to repel tourists from one of the most imposing sights in New Orleans's French Quarter.

Two hundred yards away on the riverwalk alongside the Mississippi, four young men armed with attitude and a scam trick a sucker out of $10. The television news has three stories, two overnight shootings and a hurricane. Over on Bourbon Street, where tack and tat suck out-of-town money from wallets, strollers passing under a pair of false legs flapping from high above a bar receive a rare offer: "Come in and wash the girl of your choice."

This is the city with the highest crime rate and the headiest atmosphere in north America. Crack cocaine is endemic, but it could be worse. There are few gangs, perhaps because the humidity encourages a certain lethargy.

It, or something like it, also encourages an enduring musical culture, albeit one that is rather static. You'd think all this might have some effect on a Nashville girl making a record in the city, but you'd be wrong. That's the way Emmylou Harris tells it, anyway. But then the 48-year-old, who has seemed to be the unshakeable champion of country-rock for almost as long as the music has existed, says now that she was never really a country singer in the first place.

Whatever she used to be, on her new album, Wrecking Ball, Harris sounds like a rock singer. Except that she says she's not.

She is in the home and studio of Daniel Lanois, the French-Canadian former protege of Brian Eno who is probably the world's most distinctive record producer, one who transforms the sound of his employers, among them U2, Peter Gabriel and the Neville Brothers.

"I don't think of it as a rock album unless you just say Daniel is associated with the rock world," she says with an easy chuckle and Sweet Afton cigarettes taking turns on her lips.



The fire inside . . . Emmylou Harris PHOTOGRAPH: NIGEL SKELSEY

"Really, I think it's just music." But it is music like she has never made before, with a huge rumbling, elemental sound that sometimes seems almost to absorb her mournful voice.

"It's a different record, but it's not so different that all of a sudden I'm a completely different artist. For the most part I've always gone the eclectic road so when people do label me country it is a little narrow. Daniel lit the fire in me, so to speak."

More than 20 years ago Harris sang harmony with her mentor, Gram Parsons, on the two records which provided the template for country rock.

"Over the years you become your own artist with your own music but when someone has that enormous an influence on you it's hard to say if that influence is still happening . . . Of course you're influenced by lots of other music, but that was kind of the giant springboard."

Harris's unmistakable voice has gathered more Grammies and gold records over the years than anyone could reasonably have hoped for. But not recently. Her position as the timeless emblem of country you can listen to without feeling ashamed is unchallenged. But she doesn't move the programmers who make the decisions about what gets played on America's increasingly narrow country radio stations; she does not get on country music television. She was dumped by her record company.

But Harris denies that the new record is a move calculated to reach a more mainstream audience. "I don't know that I'm that specific in how I do things. I tend to get carried along by what appeals to me at the moment."

As usual, she has not written many songs, relying instead on writers such as Neil Young, Bob Dylan and even Jimi Hendrix. "It's not like I have this thing where I refuse to write songs . . . I don't feel the need to supply all my own."

After three failed marriages, it might seem that Harris would not be short of raw material. "You reveal yourself by the songs you choose to sing. And I think I certainly have revealed a bit of myself in the songs that I have used. And you learn a lot about yourself by the way you respond to what someone else has written."

There, at least, she has something in common with New Orleans, which prides itself on being the sort of town where you can be yourself. Not far from the Lanois place there is a bar called Hog's Breath which trades under the slogan: "If there's one place on earth where you can get away with almost anything it's here." But all they want to do is hang knickers and bras from the ceiling.

# A Jane reaction

TELEVISION
**Nancy Banks-Smith**

*PRIDE AND PREJUDICE*, said Andrew Davies, who only does it to annoy because he knows it teases, is just pullulating with sex. This leaves you like Eros, standing uneasily on one leg as the traffic whirls around you. Pullulating? Something between ululating and pustulating perhaps. The sort of shriek you might give when a throbbing boil bursts?

As Robert Morley said wearily when he didn't understand his lines: "I suppose it has sexual overtones. They always do." Pullulating means sprouting, budding, breeding.

Pride And Prejudice (BBC1) is springlike and it was quite cynically sold as sexy. Sue Birtwhistle, the producer, dangled this irresistible worm before, initially, LWT: "We want to sell you a six-part adaptation of the sexiest book every written." The worm was eventually snatched by a bigger and better bird, the BBC, and that was a bit of luck all round.

Davies's adaptation opens with a hunting theme and galloping horses. Bingley and Darcy are inspecting Netherfield Park. A young girl, Elizabeth Bennet, observes them, unseen as a fox.

The scene is not in the book — Jane Austen has Bingley coming staidly in a coach and four to look at Netherfield — but it is vigorous and exhilarating. Davies's whole adaptation is open air and oxygenated. He said of the scene: "These are young animals, young chaps galloping and sweating. Chaps with thighs."

And chaps with chapped thighs, if they insist on galloping and sweating around the county like that. Jane, you feel, would have had a little fun with Mr Davies.

Well and away the most erotic scene is the ball at Netherfield Park. The dances progress from local hops in the first episode to the great ball at the Hall in the second.

At their first meeting Darcy refuses to dance with Elizabeth. At their second she refuses to dance with him. When they finally do dance together it makes your mouth go dry. Hand touches gloved hand with an electric shock. The steps are intricate.

They circle each other, unsmiling, curving, crossing, turning their backs on each other. Every time they meet she tweaks his self esteem and the dance swings her away before he can reply. Sparks arc across the space between them.

The posh period ball ("Surely that is Shelley, the scribbler?") is a classic cliché, which makes this one all the more remarkable. I have never seen it done better because it never has been.

Jennifer Ehle, vivid and natural, is quite brilliant as Elizabeth Bennet. There is no feeling that this girl is 180 years old. She seems in perpetual motion, glinting, lively and modern, beside her submissive, almost somnolent sister, Jane (Susannah Harker). Colin Firth as Darcy has little to do yet but look hungrily, almost angrily at Elizabeth, like a large dog at a forbidden bone.

# Light in the dark

CINEMA
**Derek Malcolm**

*PETER CHELSOM* is a weird director, which is meant as a compliment. He does not hoe the same ground as most other British directors, making highly personal movies that are also intended for a mainstream audience. That may be a naive hope when you consider the number of themes he picks up and throws away and the amount of ambition he harbours, but it makes for intriguing, if occasionally irritating viewing.

**Funny Bones** is the third part of a trilogy about Blackpool, Chelsom's home town — Treacle, made for television, was also set there. But though it paints an affectionate portrait that's a bit blind to the resort's present tackiness, Funny Bones isn't so much about the place as about the nature of the comedy it has always encouraged as an entertainment centre. As Jerry Lewis says in the film: "You either have or you don't have funny bones." He might have added that Tommy Cooper had, Bob Hope hadn't.

In this case, Tommy (Oliver Platt), the son of a famous comedian (Lewis) is a funny-bone-free zone. He has to try to manufacture his humour. Having failed in Las Vegas in front of his old man, he journeys to Blackpool, the town in which he grew up, in search of both new material and perhaps another beginning. There he finds his half-brother Jack (Lee Evans) and the Parker Brothers (George Karl and Freddie Davis), with whom his father once performed. He also discovers that his father stole much of his material from them.

Jack, who does have funny bones,

Lee Evans, the real star of Funny Bones

shows him a trick involving an iron bar rolled up in a newspaper. Unfortunately, it once killed a man and landed him in a home for the maladjusted. But now, vaguely guilt-stricken, the American arranges a show for the Parkers, with which Jack gets involved, almost causing another accident. Comedy, the film suggests, is a dangerous business, involving a lot more than mere fun. Some people would do anything for a laugh.

It is this tension that informs the film as Chelsom slowly unravels a complicated plot, with some of its loose ends remaining untightened and a few totally unexplained.

Apparently, the film was originally longer than its current 128 minutes and some of the threads have clearly been lost in the cutting. A shorter version still might gain a lot. Even so, Funny Bones exists on a level of imagination that clearly places it apart from the mainstream.

Jerry Lewis seems perfect casting as the famous American, since his part gets very near both his own experience and our reactions to his comedy. Oliver Platt is good, too, as the man who can't manufacture laughter for all his efforts. The real star of the film, however, is Lee Evans, who plays Blackpool Jack with a total appreciation of the dark side of comedy and still succeeds in being very funny indeed. This sort of subtlety wouldn't get him far in most movies, but Chelsom and co-writer Peter Flannery take him a long way.

What the film amounts to is a series of sequences that gradually achieve coherence. Patches of it are brilliant — the Las Vegas débâcle, the ludicrous Blackpool auditioning, the finale at the arranged show — but other bits seem to be there for a purpose it is difficult to comprehend.

This is hardly the proverbial curate's egg of a project. Funny Bones easily sustains itself with its baleful look at the comic process, its affection for its characters and its sense of how the past affects the present. It's a dark film made with a light touch.

Fridrik Thor Fridriksson is the young Icelandic director who made his way in the world with Children Of Nature, the story of an old couple escaping from a Reykjavik home into the country wilderness that won an Academy nomination as Best Foreign Film. Another nice film called Movie Days followed and now we have **Cold Fever**, which went down well at the Edinburgh Film Festival and won an award.

It has Masatoshi Nagase, who played the Japanese Presley fan in Jim Jarmusch's Mystery Train, on a visit to Iceland to perform the last rites for his parents, who died there in a freak accident. He is a young executive working for a Tokyo fish company and doesn't really believe in this sort of thing. But family honour demands that he at least pretends to.

Once in wintry Iceland, he has a series of adventures on the way to the remote region where the accident happened and some very strange things meet the eye of an impassive young man used to karaoke, golf and big city crowds. He is either going to be broken or find a new meaning to his life.

Fortunately, this gentle and rather clichéd lesson about a natural existence versus urban sophistication is not done in a particularly sentimental way.

The film intends to make you laugh with some regularity. But its portrait of Icelandic life is admiring rather than parodic, even where country and western fans, aged hippies, sage old men and strange happenings in the snow are concerned. Cold Fever is certainly a road movie with a difference.

The result is slight, charming and warm-hearted. The acting is not exactly sophisticated and the English of the screenplay is not quite what it might have been.

Perhaps this is all a bit quixotic, but Fridriksson's palpable sincerity and his sense of humour triumph over the film's weaknesses.

If Iceland is represented as a country of some 250,000 souls who are mostly slightly eccentric and frequently more than slightly drunk, Ari Kristinsonn's cinematography suggests a beautiful snow and ice-bound vista where there's an entirely credible belief in the force of myth and legend.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 8 1995



# Old habits die hard

ART
**James Hall**

*THIS AUTUMN*, two major shows of post-war British art are being held in Europe and America. They attest to a growing feeling internationally that, in 1995, the British art scene is the most vibrant in Europe, and maybe even the world.

The first exhibition opened last week in Luxembourg. It is tersely entitled From London and features the figurative painters Bacon, Freud, Auerbach, Kossoff and Andrews. The second exhibition, which opens next month in Minneapolis, has a more effusive, but oddly similar, title: Brilliant! New Art From London.

Before long, the new and old generation of "Londoners" are bound to find themselves sharing the same airport lounge, the same exhibition. For the time being, alas, the main taste-shapers — Charles Saatchi, the British Council and the Tate — are keeping them well apart.

Yet increasingly the young upstarts are starting to look, as well as spit, over their shoulders. Damien Hirst is making a concerted effort to turn himself into the new Francis Bacon. Not only does he go on benders in Bacon's old drinking hole, the Colony Club, but his artistic credo is a Coles Notes version of Bacon's "brutality of fact".

The two painters featured in Young British Artists V at the Saatchi Gallery in London until the end of the year can't decide whether to tread on old Londoners' toes, or steal their clothes. Keith Coventry paints all-white, impastoed abstracts which are very international modern. But on closer inspection, you find faint traces of tacky, city imagery. The whiteness is a smog. The corny banality of it all (subjects range from horseguards to media bygones such as "the last deb") smacks of Sickert, grandfather of the School of London. The tawdry reality — of Britain and of British art — is clear.

Glenn Brown's paintings are haunted in a much more direct way. This 29-year-old Goldsmiths' graduate transcribes details of paintings by other artists. He projects or prints the image on to canvas, then paints meticulously over the top. A single picture can take up to four months. Artists he has copied include Dali, Karel Appel and sci-fi illustrator Chris Foss, but his main source is Frank Auerbach.

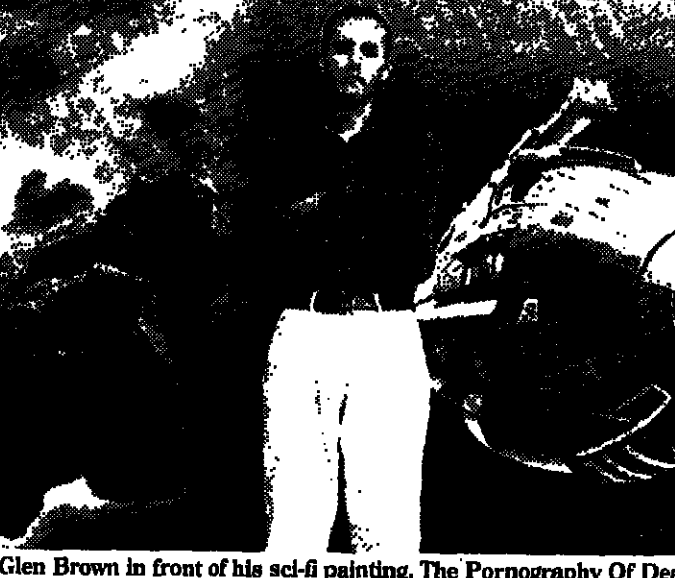
Appropriation was an essential component of eighties art. But whereas the pioneer appropriationists tended to use famous modern masters, Brown cannibalises work that is "macabre and gothic". His titles are deliriously schlocky — The Pornography Of Death, The Day the World Turned Auerbach — and his paintings are hung on crimson-coloured walls. He transforms the pristine picture gallery into a chamber of shock-horrors.

The weirdest thing about Brown's Auerbach renditions is the way he censors the thick impasto for which Auerbach is famous. The pictures have the slick patina of two-dimensional waxworks. They are luridly insipid, drained of substance. Brown works in the spirit of a Soviet lab technician whose sole function is to extract and preserve cross-sections of Lenin's brain. Having been informed by his superiors that painting is dead, his job is to pickle the corpse.

Two grisly paint-balls lie on the gallery floor. They are 3-D renditions of heads in Auerbach portraits. These abject but alluring effigies recall an American waxwork portrait of Van Gogh. The modeller tried to imitate the tormented brushstrokes of the artist with the net result that Vincent's face seems "devoured by some disgusting eczema".

Brown tries to squeeze all the expressivity out of his sources. But in so doing, a new kind of expressivity comes in by the back door. His red room is like a bonfire of vanities — a hell-hole where art gets hung, drawn and gutted before our very eyes.

The two other artists in the show are both sculptors who shone in last



Glen Brown in front of his sci-fi painting, The Pornography Of Death (Painting For Ian Curtis, After Chris Foss) PHOTOGRAPH: HENRIETTA BUTLER

year's BT Young Contemporaries. Neither of them directly quote their predecessors, but their work is firmly rooted in vernacular imagery.

Kerry Stewart's manipulates painted dummies. Her finest piece is a tableau called The Boy From The Chemist Is Here To See You. A face peers through a half-glazed door. A glance through the rippling glass reveals that the face belongs to one of those fibreglass charity collection boys. He's on crutches, and lacks half a leg.

Usually, the needy only get pitied so long as they are docile and distant. Few of us like strangers knocking on our doors asking for money. Stewart gives this form of direct marketing a grotesque twist. Unlike other invalids of modern art, such as Otto Dix's mutilated war veterans, Stewart's boy has an epic quality. It feels like a nineties version of the Trojan Horse.

Hadrian Pigott makes bathroom fixtures and fittings that appeal to the self-loathing Lady Macbeth in us all. A big bar of white soap is adorned with the slogan DIRT URGENT. Eighteen bars of soap are inscribed with a part of the male anatomy — ranging from ARMS to BALLS. They are made to measure for Saatchi's white-walled art emporia.

For real perfectionists, there are baths and washbasins made from giant, biomorphic bars of white, blue and pink soap. They have a primal quality which Pigott's most recent work, made from ultra-chic velvet and brass, lacks. What with the holes drilled into them for plugs and plumbing, they are like hybrids of Duchamp's urinal and Barbara Hepworth's pierced forms.

Overall, this is one of the better Young British shows. There are no real disasters. Stewart and Brown stand out. Their work is genuinely eccentric, with its own fierce vision.

That said, the Young British Artists package has done its work — as has the School of London. It's time to move on and put the work of both lots of Londoners into other contexts. Saatchi has genuine Auerbachs, so why not show them with the Browns? They have been buying work by young Americans such as Charles Ray (shop-window mannequins) and Janine Antoni (lard baths and chocolate heads), so why not show them with the Stewarts and Pigotts?

The danger with continually treating British Art as a law unto itself is that you end up marginalising it — consigning it to the history of incest rather than the history of art.

# Clowns and gowns

THEATRE
**Michael Billington**

*ANY* lingering doubts about the National Theatre's passion for American musicals (so far three Sondheims but never a single play by Goethe or Schiller) are instantly dispelled by Sean Mathias's triumphant revival at the Olivier Theatre in London of A Little Night Music. It is not only beautiful, elegant and sensitive. It also owes much of its success to a very simple idea: by placing the 15 musicians on an open, curving, stage-left staircase, it enables us to hear every syllable of Sondheim's lyrics and the tone and colour of individual instruments.

Although based on Bergman's Smiles Of A Summer Night, the show itself reminds me most of one of those Schnitzler plays in which the angel of death pervades a world of sensual enjoyment. We watch a complex erotic dance as the touring actress, Desirée Armfeldt, rediscovers her passion for an old lawyer-lover, Frederik Egerman, while his 19-year-old virgin bride absconds with his son. But behind the triple-time tunes we are constantly aware of mortality and transience.

Hugh Wheeler deserves more credit than he has had for refashioning Bergman's screenplay. But it is Sondheim's brilliance as a musical dramatist that binds the show together. His astringent lyrics act as a constant counterpoint to the Ravel and Rachmaninov-influenced score. The songs themselves are also perfectly-placed inner monologues genuinely revealing character. There is a classic example when Desirée's rival lovers dwell on how wonderful it would have been if she had been imperfect. "If she'd been covered with glitter/ Or even been covered with mould," sings Frederik, exposing not only his own aching passion but also love's illusions; for the ironic truth is that Desirée is by now ageing and a touch raddled.

Mathias's dramatically precise casting heightens the point. The great thing about Judi Dench's Desirée is not that she is some ethereal goddess but a warm, funny, beer-swilling touring pro whom you can genuinely believe has given her Hedda in Halsingborg. Being in the business of illusions herself, she swiftly cuts through other people's. But Dench also has the quality of heartbreak and her voice cracks unforgettably in Send In The Clowns as she confronts with genuine despair life's missed chances.

Patricia Hodge also stunningly rediscovers one of the work's neglected roles: that of the discarded wife of Desirée's dragoon lover. It helps that she has had a crucially waspish song, My Husband The Pig, restored. But Hodge plays the character as a walking aristocratic death-wish as if longing for an end to life's torments. She shines out of an immaculately cast production in which Sian Phillips has the serene detachment of the dying as Madame Armfeldt, Joanna Riding and Brendan O'Hea the impatience of youth as the teenage runaways, Laurence Guittard the priapic frustration of the consummation-denied lawyer, and Lambert Wilson the ramrod-backed asininity of the posturing dragoon.

My only niggle is that the drum-revolve sometimes punctuates the songs with ghastly whirring noises. But otherwise Stephen Brimson Lewis's settings, based on the Scandinavian paintings of Kroyer and Jansson reproduced in the programme, have a wonderful airy lightness. In particular his last act set, with its vista of a moonlit lake, invokes The Seagull: a work that, like Sondheim's masterly musical, also deals with acting, ageing, "a ton of love" and the transience of human affairs.



Judi Dench . . . evokes quality of heartbreak

# Shots right on target

PHOTOGRAPHY
**Jane Richards**

**THE POWER of photography as a non-violent propaganda tool could not be more perfectly demonstrated than in Appeal To An Age at the Photographers Gallery in London, an exhibition of photographs which chart the American civil rights movement from 1954 to 1968.**

**Seventy images by 40 of the world's most celebrated photographers — Robert Frank, Danny Lyon, Charles Moore, Gordon Parks and Richard Avedon among them — are testament to curator Steven Kasher's assertion: "Photographs, like freedom songs, were an integral mode of expression and communication within the movement."**

**Take Ernest Withers's news shot of sanitation workers gathering for Martin Luther King's last march in 1968 — a mass of black faces and banners reading "I Am A Man"; Declan Haun's Demonstrator, a figure holding a placard reading simply "Justice"; or Matt Herron's young protester on the Selma to Montgomery march, his face painted white and the word "Vote" spelt out across his forehead. Simple images that speak volumes.**

**The exhibition is clearly laid out in chronological order, with background information to reflect each phase of the movement — a significant consideration for those trying to make sense of this, the most important social upheaval in post-war American history.**

**What is so uplifting about a show that reveals so much heartache is that all the photographers on show here actively sided with the movement, reporting from the black point of view, in order to influence public opinion.**

**Hence at the start of the exhibition, Carl Iwasaki's Linda Brown And Her Sister Walking To School, 1953, is a reflection of the Supreme Court decision that ended legal segregation of public schools and sparked the whole movement. Then there are Charles Moore's images charting Martin Luther King's absurd arrest for loitering in Montgomery, 1958; Dan Weiner's eerie White Rider During The Bus Boycott, Montgomery, Alabama, 1956 (following Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her seat to a white man in 1955); and Charmian Reading's serene portrait of a 17-year-old pregnant woman "just before her death", as the label tells us — she bled to death after being refused admittance to a white hospital.**

**Life magazine gave space to Charles Moore's report on the police attack on peaceful demonstrators at the Birmingham campaign in 1963. There is evidence that Moore's images had a strong impact on Washington's legislators. They say the camera never lies, but when it can amplify a situation like this, it is capable of exposing an even greater truth. And that is a powerful weapon.**

# Animal forces at work

**Lewis Wolpert**

Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life
by Daniel C Dennett
Allen Lane, The Penguin Press
586pp £25

Why Freud Was Wrong: Sin, Science and Psychoanalysis
by Richard Webster
HarperCollins 673pp £25

DARWIN and Freud have both provided threats: to our autonomy, our sense of identity, and our ability to choose how we behave. Together they destroyed the myth that humans are basically pure in mind, far removed from the base instinct of animals. Darwinism shows that we are animals and that much of our behaviour must have been moulded by evolutionary forces; it explicitly insists that some of human nature is genetically determined. Freud, too, has undermined our self-image. The unconscious is filled with dark forces; infants, their sexual passions revealed, have lost their innocence. And even if only implicitly, Freudianism also requires some notion of genetic determinism.

Two new books look at these great ideas. They do so from very different viewpoints, but both reflect a cultural trend. Darwin's star becomes almost sun-like, illuminating all, while Freud's is increasingly darkened. Daniel Dennett in Darwin's Dangerous Idea takes to task anyone who hesitates to adopt the Darwinian credo. Richard Webster, meanwhile, in Why Freud Was Wrong, destroys the foundations of Freud's work and longs for a true understanding of human nature — based on Darwin.



Freud and Darwin: human nature in the balance ILLUSTRATION: IAN POLLOCK

It is a pleasure to find Dennett, a philosopher of science, regarding Darwin's "dangerous idea" as the single best idea anyone has ever had. He describes it as an algorithm, a formal process, which results in selection. "The algorithmic level is the level that best accounts for the speed of the antelope, the wing of the eagle, the shape of the orchid, the diversity of species. It is hard to believe that something as mindless and mechanical as an algorithm could produce such wonderful things."

Dennett's whole treatment of Darwinism is from a philosopher's viewpoint. It is rather like evolution without biology. For example: DNA controls embryonic development and is fundamental to the evolution of multicellular organisms. But this central process is totally ignored by Dennett.

If Dennett's book is weak on biology, Webster's is weak on science and psychoanalysis. It is not a critical analysis of psychoanalysis but of Freud. By far the most interesting section of the book is that dealing with hysteria. Why, he asks, has a disease which was apparently so prevalent in Freud's time become so much less common? The answer is both obvious and shocking — it was not there in the first place. Charcot's patients with hysterical paralysis, who so impressed Freud, have been reassessed by neurologists. They have concluded that almost all, including Freud's own cases, were patients with organic diseases like epilepsy. Nevertheless, these ideas were fundamental to Freud's key view that ideas could lodge in the unconscious, where they could be transformed into bodily symptoms. A major foundation of psychoanalysis has thus been completely undermined.

In relation to the seduction theory — the idea that patients had been sexually traumatised in childhood — which Freud later abandoned, Webster is devastatingly critical. Freud, he claims, was never driven to abandon a crucial set of truths for the simple reason that they were never there in the first place; memories of childhood reduction were a construction of Freud. One may also have forgotten how puritanical Freud's views were. Neurasthenia — a weakness of the nerves — was ascribed to males as due to masturbation. Webster is equally critical of Freud's ideas on repression and its relation to the unconscious, the interpretation of dreams, and children's sexuality.

In the last section of the book, Webster discusses approaches to human nature and misrepresents Peter Medawar's view on the limitations of science. Medawar recognised that science could never fully answer questions like "what point is there in living?" but not that science could never reveal the nature of human nature. Webster could well benefit from reading Dennett.

Even though Freud may have put forward theories that are wrong, such an enterprise is a noble endeavour. We must not stop trying to understand human nature in scientific terms just because one attempt has failed. The viable approach is surely through biologically based psychology. Darwin's idea can help to account for the origin and adaptiveness of some features but can never supply the basic mechanisms. In the meantime, we must take responsibility for our own behaviours.

## Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

**A Bag of Boiled Sweets, by Julian Critchley (Faber, £6.99)**

IF YOU think Critchley's role as Tory party witty underachiever has over the years been overplayed, think again. This autobiography is extraordinarily good by any standards; by the standards of political memoirs it stands alone.

**Complete Poems, by Basil Bunting (OUP, £10.99)**

NOT just marginalised but ignored by those who determine what poetry we read or hear (with our own tacit complicity, and with the honourable exception of the late Donald Davie). His poetry was intelligent, "modernist" (but not wilfully obscure or difficult) and his northernness, though crucial, did not lend itself to knee-jerk regionalism.

**Gibbon: Making History, by Roy Porter (Phoenix, £9.99)**

A BRIEF but thorough overview of, and introduction to, Gibbon's life and greatest work. Porter makes what might have seemed a dry subject bubble with interest, splendidly defending Gibbon against charges of inaccuracy, bias and impiety. The latter should be enough to send you racing off to the Decline and Fall.

**Life and Fate, by Vasily Grossman (Harvill, £10.99)**

GROSSMAN survived as a writer in the USSR with official support; but in 1960 he submitted the manuscript for this epic novel about the second world war, Stalingrad, the bomb, and Soviet anti-Semitism; the KGB's response was to confiscate even his typewriter ribbons.



## Violence shocks, love hurts, bullets kill

**Francis Spufford**

The Ghost Road
by Pat Barker
Viking 277pp £15

PAT BARKER keeps a rendezvous in The Ghost Road. In the two linked novels that precede it (Regeneration and The Eye in the Door, which won the Guardian Fiction Prize), she summoned up the trenches of the first world war in the unmanageable dreams and memories of shell-shock patients — traumatic information too painful to look at directly, the twitching young men trying to bury it unexamined in their minds.

They bring it to the surface again with the help of Dr W H R Rivers, a real historical figure whose intelligence and compassion impressed Siegfried Sassoon. The war thus unfolds, brilliantly, through the special kind of narrative, urgent but gradual, blurted but hesitating, of therapeutic dialogue.

But Rivers is an army psychiatrist; his job is to send his patients back to fight. The novels therefore point out and away from the war hospitals and grey British cities where their scenes are set, and towards France. Before this third and last one of the novel sequence closes, Barker must go there, along the road trodden by living men and the thick traffic of ghosts. For a sort of textual balance; because no other end can gather the diverse threads of her interest; mainly because, against the slow intensity of Rivers's methods, there has to be set the unreflective place where the deforming violence happens.

This does not mean that, as the autumn of 1918 ticks past in The Ghost Road, she moves us from a green England to a contrastingly hellish Western Front. The imaginative antagonisms that formed the wartime habit of vision are the meat of her writing, but this particular opposition doesn't interest her. The pastoral/infernal way of figuring the gulf between England and its war strikes her as a limited, officer-class perception. As her character Billy Prior thinks, for most of the urban recruits and for a working-class officer like himself, the look of the trenches doesn't represent a gross contradiction of the familiar; it's more an extreme version of known, industrial mud and metal.

Barker prefers the antagonisms of the heart; the deep, perhaps irreconcilable divisions of class, gender, of military versus civilian, that converge in the charged relationships of doctor with patient, or lover with lover. This is one reason why her character Prior is such a brilliant intervention in our customary understanding of the time. Prior is ambiguity personified; and also an image of manhood traumatised. He is open to the unthinkable and may do it: he is open to the idea of his likeness to women. His speech shatters the verbal rules protecting the dignity of men. And Barker, who does not soften the nature of Prior's sexual aggression, will not give up either on his potential for love, any more than Rivers will concede that giving care is an intrinsically female activity. Otherwise, "there is really very little hope".

But Prior sends himself back to France in The Ghost Road. And it is as freshly shocking as Pat Barker intends it to be (her design vindicated, her daring renewal of old ground justified) that a single stupid bullet can extinguish all the difficult hope and fear that three novels did not exhaust.







# Censoring the family secrets

**Laura Cumming**

Hidden Lives
by Margaret Forster
Viking 308pp £16

ONE MORNING in the spring of 1936, an elderly woman in funeral clothes knocked on the door of a council house in Carlisle and asked to see Margaret Forster's grandmother, Margaret Ann. After the stranger had left, Margaret Ann wept for hours in her room. She never spoke of the visit. Three months later she died and another woman in black appeared, claiming to be her daughter. Nobody believed her and she disappeared with her secrets. If Margaret Ann's three legitimate daughters ever made a connection between the visitors or speculated about their mother's life, they did so in silence. Not until her own mother's death did Margaret Forster find answers to the questions she so often asked. Her family memoir, Hidden Lives, is as much about this deep pattern of silence as about the truths it concealed.

Margaret Ann did have another daughter, named Alice. Forster discovers her first in the parish register. She glimpses her again in an incomplete marriage certificate and then loses her to an unmarked grave. The records reveal only that Alice lived near her mother, had no legal father and died in a mental hospital. Neither seen nor spoken of, she was erased from family history.

Margaret Ann censored her own life, too. Also illegitimate, she refused to discuss her first two decades and her daughters quickly learned "not to upset mother" with questions.

If you recognise that phrase, or the feminine secrecy it enshrines, or even the knock at the door, it's because, as Forster believes, thousands of lives may reflect in the story of an ordinary few. She tells hers with all the compelling vitality found in her fiction. After giving up Alice in 1893, Margaret Ann worked as a domestic servant until she married a butcher. The scale and character of her labour scarcely altered — coaxing dawn fires from cold hearths, producing ceaseless shifts of meals for men and children, dragging saturated washing into rainy gardens. Her daughters, in that significant expression, went out to work. Lilian, Forster's mother, was a clerk in Carlisle's Public Health Department until 1930, when she had to resign to get married. At home, she became mysteriously and unmentionably "ill".

In Forster's opinion, the saturated washing led to mangled hopes. Lilian returned to the department in 1948, but only stayed long enough to earn herself a twinset, a slip and new shoes, and even then regretted her "selfishness". By this stage, you long for her to blow the budget on ballgowns if it might distract from the impatience of 10-year-old Margaret to have her mother back "in pinny and turban" — the habit of that "tightly structured slavery" which later makes Forster guiltily resentful because it straitened her mother's life.

Family values . . . Margaret Forster's mother, Lilian (centre), then aged 11, with sisters Jane (left) and Annie

READING this memoir is a bit like stumbling on the Ur-text to Forster's novels. It raises so many of the trenchant questions posed in her fiction about women's roles, filial guilt, selfishness and obligation. Again, they are played out oppositionally. Lilian puts her family before everything, and as the children grow, you see her extending this care to her neighbours. Her comforts are modest: Mrs Dale's Diary and "making new frocks to cheer away the gloom", as the People's Friend has it.

But Margaret also believes in self-fulfilment, takes a degree and writes novels while having a family. Their values diverge and the strain is most evident during Lilian Forster's last months. Always wanting better for her daughter, she sees how little she had herself. They talk about it in a posh department store. Forster thinks that "a career as well as everything else was what she should have yearned for". Her mother says she would have liked a new towel. Forster furiously buys one. "I didn't mean now," says her mother. "It's too late now."

It's consistent with the bracing pragmatism of her memoir that Forster refuses to accept this. She believes that "everything" is better for women nowadays and certainly writes enthrallingly about social change: the exhilarating new question of what to vote, the relief of central heating and twin-tub, reliable contraception instead of feigned sleep, the dwindling of that profound fear of doctors, male and expensive, which preceded the welfare state. Nor would Margaret Ann now have to efface 20 years of her life and one of her own children to escape the social opprobrium attached to illegitimacy, whatever the machinations of Messrs Gingrich and Redwood. But a mother on the Raffles estate where Forster grew up still needs money for towels, never mind childcare. And what if you can only exchange domestic drudgery, however light compared to Lilian's load, for a treadmill job in a land with no minimum wage?

In discovering the general story within her forbears' lives, Forster diminishes the personal. And she follows the principle of her biographies in avoiding psychological speculation. Thus she sees Margaret Ann's rejection of Alice purely as a function of social history and cannot understand why Lilian believed her life hadn't "amounted to much". Why could she not laugh more at misfortune? Why could she never say that "she had three children and nothing else mattered"? Self-fulfilment is not just a matter of choice. As Forster herself wrote in Significant Sisters, her study of early feminism, "I always wanted to be a wife, mother, housekeeper and writer. More significant, there was no role I disliked." Perhaps her mother could not say the same.

What can be said is always at issue in Hidden Lives. There's a bizarre moment when the infant Margaret is depicted "reciting little poems on the living-room table, adorable in ... double white chiffon". Only when she turns four and has her first autonomous memories can the narrative burst into the direct first person. In no time she is challenging the social norms: why should she stop reading to do the washing-up, why did big girls get themselves pregnant, why did mother make the mistake of getting married? It isn't quite so simple, comes back the silent response.

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# The engine of love

**Stephen Moss**

Platform Souls: The Trainspotter as Twentieth-Century Hero
by Nicholas Whittaker
Gollancz 255pp £14.99

I HAVE never been ashamed to admit it: I was a trainspotter. I'd go further: I loved trainspotting; I devoted most of my early teens to it. I had an anorak; and I loved that, too.

"Trainspotter" and "anorak" are now shorthand for all-round nerdishness. LibDem activists at the Littleborough and Saddleworth by-election were said to resemble "trainspotters on acid"; a recent advert for teledating guaranteed "no anoraks, no trainspotters and no quiche-eaters".

Trainspotters are fair game these days because there are so few of them, perhaps only 20,000. But when my love affair began — in South Wales in the early seventies — we were a mighty army, hundreds of thousands strong, thronging the stations, raiding the railway sheds.

Non-trainspotters just don't understand the attraction; hence the derision and the cheap signifiers. Nicholas Whittaker, a lifelong trainspotter, seeks to lead the fightback — to show how the quest for train numbers involved travel, adventure, derring-do. He started in the dying days of steam in the sixties and then grew to love diesel. But as diesel trains were replaced by "multiple units" and execrable "sprinters" — nothing more than boring collections of carriages — there was nowhere for the trainspotter to go, no proper engine to love. So trainspotters became heritage freaks, abandoning the platforms of windswept stations for those awful twee preservation railways with silly names like Bluebell and Watercress. There are no boys spotting trains any more, just affable middle-aged men looking for a steamy whiff of nostalgia.

Once there were hordes of boys (never, in my experience, girls, though Whittaker claims to have met one or two). Take this report from the Manchester Guardian of August 27, 1962: "Five hundred determined trainspotters played hide and seek with harassed railway police at Crewe at the weekend. In train after train they poured into the Cheshire junction — to be met by a handful of police with orders to get rid of them." Wimps?

Trainspotting may be moribund but interest in the subculture is flourishing. Stephen Dinsdale offered a sympathetic send-up in his play Anorak Of Fire, and York University has just introduced the first academic course in the subject.

At the age of 14, I travelled all over the country in pursuit of numbers, including one memorable weekend trip with a trainspotting club that took in Tinsley in Sheffield, Bradford, Goole, Immingham, Doncaster and Barrow Hill. Sheds on Sunday, were the best: fewer trains in service meant they were packed with trains waiting to be "copped", claimed, clambered over. The Toton depot in Nottingham was wonderful: the 10 named Peaks — Scafell Pike, Helvellyn, Skiddaw, Great Gable, Cross Fell, Whernside, Ingleborough, Penyghent, Snowdon, Tryfan — lined up, usually in numerical order.

Trains worked out of their home depots, so you could devise a systematic method of finding them — if you were prepared to travel and break the law to get in to the sheds. I was almost arrested when I was caught wandering around Derby research works, where the prototype for the Advanced Passenger Train was being built. But, in retrospect, it was all surprisingly easy, with few dodgy characters to disturb adolescent fantasy. The only really disconcerting moment was on Bristol Temple Meads station when an elderly man came up to a friend of mine and asked him whether he was his son. Oddly enough, he was.

The cynics would say it wouldn't, couldn't, shouldn't happen now, teenagers roaming the land, endangering their safety. But of course it does: they just have more money and go to football matches or concerts or raves instead. And most of them still come home. But the innocence has gone, the poetry, the sense of place, the search for meaning, the soggy lettuce sandwiches. Old buffers have a point.

Whittaker attempts a rites-of-passage narrative, delineates his friends, his relationships, but his heart isn't in it. This is writing by numbers — but oh, those wonderful numbers.

**Motor Racing** European Grand Prix

# Schumacher nearly there

**Alan Henry at the Nürburgring**

DAMON HILL formally conceded the world championship to Michael Schumacher at the weekend after crashing out of the Grand Prix of Europe as the German stormed to a decisive second victory on home soil.

This disastrous result, after a gripping race in treacherously unpredictable wet/dry conditions, left Hill trailing Schumacher by 27 points with only 30 available from the remaining three races.

"I'm not going to be world champion this year, but I'll be back," said Hill. "I don't think I disgraced myself. I put up a good fight, did everything I could to win, and it didn't come off. I am in full working order after hitting the barrier, which is good news, and I'll have a bloody good go in the last three races. I want to win them all."

Hill was running fourth with only nine of the 67 laps left when he dropped his right rear wheel over a kerb on the exit of a medium-speed corner. The Williams snapped round and charged across the grass into a tyre barrier.

Taking his hands off the steering wheel before impact, Hill escaped unhurt apart from sore knees, which were banged together. He had earlier been precariously close to Schumacher as they battled for third place, tapping the back of the Benetton without damage as the German abruptly cut across him.

The Briton climbed from the cockpit to see Schumacher stage a blistering recovery, surging past Jean Alesi's Ferrari, which had dominated most of the race, only three laps from the chequered flag.

Alesi finished second with Hill's team-mate David Coulthard taking third place after a race plagued with handling problems.

With Schumacher virtually clinching his second consecutive championship, Hill walked to the edge of the circuit to applaud him on his slowing-down lap. The German's outstanding sprint to victory rounded off the best race in recent memory, with five cars in contention for the lead from the very start.

Coulthard, who had spun off on his first warm-up lap, took over the spare Williams FW17B and opened a slender lead in the opening stages, pursued by Schumacher and Hill, who made his first stop on lap 11, switching from rain tyres to slicks as the track dried out. Hill briefly dropped to seventh but came storming back on to Schumacher's tail in a battle for third.



Schumacher: outstanding sprint

On lap 12, Coulthard relinquished the lead at his first stop, allowing Alesi's Ferrari, which was running on dry-weather slicks and due to refuel only once, into the lead. The Scot resumed in second ahead of Schumacher and Hill, but when Schumacher made his second refuelling stop at the end of lap 34, Hill moved into second place, close behind the Ferrari.

Knowing that Alesi still had to make his second stop, Hill was anxious to force his way past him as quickly as possible, and he moved inside the Ferrari under braking for a tight chicane just before the pits. Alesi chose not to cooperate and the collision ripped off the nose section of Hill's car.

Straight into the pits for repairs, fuel and fresh tyres, Hill dropped to fourth behind Alesi, Schumacher and Coulthard, where he stayed for the rest of his race.

"After the incident with Alesi the steering on my car felt very stiff," said Hill.

The Jordan-Peugeots of Rubens Barrichello and Eddie Irvine finished fourth and sixth, sandwiching Johnny Herbert's Benetton.

**Sports Diary** Shiv Sharma

# The charge of the fight brigade

MANCHESTER United's erratic start to the new football season saw them knocked out in the first round of the Uefa Cup last week when they could manage only a draw at Old Trafford against Rotor Volgograd. United came away with a 0-0 scoresheet in the first leg of the tie and had everything to play for, but a 2-2 draw gave victory to the Russians on the away goals rule.

It was a game with a amazing finale. United, trailing 1-2 with only minutes left, threw everyone forward, including keeper Peter Schmeichel. The big Dane did what Andy Cole and Ryan Giggs could not. He met Gigg's corner and headed in the equaliser. United needed another goal to wipe out Rotor's away-goal advantage, and although they kept up the pressure in the dying seconds, it was not to be their night.

Leeds went down 1-0 to Monaco; and Raith Rovers to Akranes by the same margin, but both are through to the next round on aggregate. Also through are Liverpool, after a goalless draw against Spartak Vladikavkaz, and Nottingham Forest who beat Malmo FF 1-0.

Leeds will meet Dutch side PSV Eindhoven in the next round with the first leg at Elland Road on October 17 while Rovers face the daunting task of a trip to Bayern Munich's Olympiastadion. Forest and Liverpool both managed to avoid the big-name sides still in the competition. Forest are away to Auxerre of France while Liverpool travel to meet Denmark's Brondby.

There was little joy for the two British clubs taking part in the Champions' League. Blackburn, who lost the opening match 0-1 to Moscow Spartak at Ewood Park last month, went down 1-2 to Norwegian champions Rosenborg BK in Trondheim and are now bottom of the table, facing European oblivion. Rangers, the champions of Scotland, took on Germany's Borussia Dortmund at home and drew 2-2.

In the second leg of the first round of the European Cup Winners' Cup, Everton beat Reykjavik 3-1 at home and Celtic defeated Dinamo Batumi 4-0. Both go through to the next round.

GRAEME OBREE of Britain regained the world 4,000 metres cycling pursuit title in Bogota when he defeated the Italian Andrea Collinelli by over a second in a thrilling 12-lap final. There were only fractions of a second between the well-matched pair until the British champion finally asserted his authority in the closing kilometre, winning in 4min 24.182sec the title he first took in 1993.



Obree: world at his feet

SRI LANKA have done it again. The babes of the cricketing world, who made their Test debut just 13 summers ago, won their first away series in New Zealand in 1993. Last week at Sailkot, they defeated Pakistan to clinch their second, 2-1. The visitors made 232 and 338 for 9 declared and dismissed the home side for 214 and 212, winning the third and final Test by 144 runs.

NASEEM HAMED took Steve Robinson's WBO featherweight crown in a devastating display at Cardiff. The 21-year-old Sheffield boxer, in his first fight at this weight, dominated the bout from the first bell until it was stopped in the eighth. The Welshman went down in the fifth but bravely came back, only to find himself unable to land a telling punch on the challenger.

In Pensacola, Florida, Roy Jones beat fellow-American Tony Thornton in three rounds to retain the IBF super-middlewieght title.

FERRARI paid an estimated £3.25 million to buy out the Ulsterman Eddie Irvine's contract with the Silverstone-based Jordan team to partner him with Michael Schumacher in their line-up for next season. Martin Brundle will replace Irvine at Jordan while David Coulthard has been confirmed as a driver for Marlboro McLaren Mercedes next season. The 24-year-old Scotsman has been named alongside Mika Hakkinen of Finland. Coulthard's arrival has put a big question mark over the future of fellow-Briton Mark Blundell.

LAMMTARRA became only the third horse to complete the golden double of European racing, the Epsom Derby and the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe, when he fought back to win at Longchamp on Sunday despite being headed inside the final furlong. The US-bred, Newmarket-trained colt, ridden by Italian Frankie Dettori, won his Arab owners £480,000.

BERNHARD LANGER brushed aside his Ryder Cup fatigue from Oak Hill when he defeated Barry Lane at the second play-off hole in the Smurfit European Open at the K Club near Dublin.

GERMANY'S hockey team won the Champions' Trophy for a sixth time when, in a fast and furious final in Berlin, they clinched a penalty corner barrage by 4-2 against Australia after the game had finished in a 2-2 draw. The world champions, Pakistan, had to settle for the bronze.

ALBERT JOHANNESON, the poor boy from a South African township who became the first black footballer to play in an FA Cup final when he was included by Don Revie in the Leeds squad in 1965, has met a lonely death at the age of 55. His body was found in a tiny council flat in a Leeds tower block, where it had lain for several days. Nicknamed "Yoyo", Johanneson had suffered from an alcohol problem in his later years.

## Football results and league tables

**FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP:** Bolton 0, QPR 1; Chelsea 1, Arsenal 0; Coventry 0, A Villa 3; Everton 1, Newcastle 3; Leeds 2, Sheff Wed 0; Man Utd 2, Liverpool 2; Middlesbrough 2, Blackburn 0; Nottm Forest 3, Man C 0; Tottenham 3, Wimbledon 1.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newcastle | 8 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 4 | 21 |
| Aston Villa | 8 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 12 | 5 | 17 |
| Man Utd | 8 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 16 | 10 | 17 |
| Liverpool | 8 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 7 | 16 |
| Leeds | 8 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 9 | 16 |
| Arsenal | 8 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 5 | 15 |
| Middlesbrough | 8 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 15 |
| Nottm Forest | 8 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 14 | 9 | 14 |
| Tottenham | 8 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 11 | 14 |
| Chelsea | 8 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 12 |
| Wimbledon | 8 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 16 | 10 |
| QPR | 8 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 7 | 12 | 9 |
| Sheff Wed | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 11 | 8 |
| Blackburn | 8 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 10 | 13 | 7 |
| Everton | 8 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 10 | 13 | 7 |
| Coventry | 8 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 17 | 6 |
| West Ham | 7 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 5 |
| Southampton | 7 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 14 | 5 |
| Bolton | 8 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 18 | 4 |
| Man City | 8 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 14 | 1 |

**ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division:** Birmingham 0, Oldham 0; Charlton 1, Barnsley 1; C Palace 1, Stoke 1; Derby 2, Millwall 2; Luton 3, Portsmouth 1; Norwich 0, Leicester 1; Port Vale 2, Wolverhampton 2; Sheff Utd 2, Ipswich 2; Southend 1, Grimsby 0; Sunderland 2, Reading 2; Tranmere 2, Watford 3; West Brom 1, Huddersfield 2.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leicester | 10 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 16 | 11 | 20 |
| Millwall | 10 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 18 |
| Barnsley | 10 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 16 | 19 | 17 |
| Charlton | 10 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 15 | 10 | 16 |
| Huddersfield | 10 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 15 | 14 | 16 |
| Sunderland | 10 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 12 | 10 | 16 |
| Ipswich | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 18 | 16 | 15 |
| Oldham | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 14 | 10 | 15 |
| Norwich | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 13 | 11 | 15 |
| West Brom | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 13 | 11 | 15 |
| Southend | 10 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 14 |
| Birmingham | 10 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 16 | 12 | 13 |
| Tranmere | 9 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 10 | 13 |
| Grimsby | 10 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 11 | 13 |
| Watford | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 14 | 14 | 12 |
| Reading | 10 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 13 | 13 | 12 |
| Sheff Utd | 10 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 18 | 11 |
| Crystal Palace | 9 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 10 | 11 | 11 |
| Wolverhampton | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 13 | 16 | 10 |
| Derby | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 15 | 10 |
| Stoke | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 15 | 8 |
| Portsmouth | 10 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 13 | 17 | 9 |
| Luton | 10 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 13 | 9 |
| Port Vale | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 13 | 7 |

**Second Division:** Bradford C 2, Blackpool 1; Brentford 1, Chesterfield 2; Brighton 2, Shrewsbury 2; Bristol C 0, Wycombe 0; Burnley 3, Swansea 0; Crewe 2, Notts Co 2; Hull 0, York 3; Oxford Utd 1, Bristol Rvrs 2; Rotherham 5, Peterborough 1; Stockport 3, Bournemouth 1; Walsall 2, Carlisle 1; Wrexham 4, Swindon 3.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Swindon | 10 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 21 | 8 | 23 |
| Blackpool | 10 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 10 | 19 |
| Bradford | 10 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 14 | 19 |
| Crewe | 9 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 19 | 9 | 18 |
| Stockport | 10 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 18 |
| Notts County | 10 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 12 | 8 | 18 |
| Chesterfield | 10 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 17 | 10 | 17 |
| Bristol Rovers | 10 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 13 | 12 | 17 |
| Burnley | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 12 | 11 | 15 |
| Oxford Utd | 10 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 13 | 8 | 14 |
| Wycombe | 10 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 14 |
| Bournemouth | 10 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 13 | 16 | 13 |
| Rotherham | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 13 | 13 | 12 |
| Walsall | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 11 | 12 |
| Peterborough | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 16 | 12 |
| Wrexham | 10 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 12 | 14 | 11 |
| York | 10 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 11 | 14 | 11 |
| Brentford | 10 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 11 |
| Swansea | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 17 | 10 |
| Brighton | 10 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 10 | 16 | 9 |
| Carlisle | 10 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 10 | 16 | 9 |
| Bristol City | 9 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 12 | 8 |
| Hull | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 11 | 7 |
| Shrewsbury | 10 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 20 | 5 |

**Third Division:** Barnet 1, Darlington 1; Cambridge Utd 0, Hartlepool 1; Cardiff 3, Mansfield 0; Gillingham 3, Bury 0; Hereford 2, Wigan 2; L Orient 3, Doncaster 1; Northampton 2, Fulham 0; Plymouth 3, Lincoln 0; Preston 2, Chester 0; Rochdale 4, Exeter 2; Scarborough 2, Torquay 1; Scunthorpe 1, Colchester 0.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gillingham | 10 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 16 | 4 | 21 |
| Chester | 10 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 19 | 10 | 20 |
| Leyton Orient | 10 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 16 | 9 | 19 |
| Rochdale | 10 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 20 | 11 | 18 |
| Plymouth | 10 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 17 | 11 | 16 |
| Cambridge Utd | 10 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 17 | 15 | 16 |
| Exeter | 10 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 9 | 16 |
| Preston | 10 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 18 | 12 | 15 |
| Colchester | 10 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 15 | 12 | 15 |
| Northampton | 10 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 13 | 14 |
| Doncaster | 10 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 13 | 14 |
| Fulham | 10 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 18 | 14 | 13 |
| Wigan | 10 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 11 | 11 | 13 |
| Scarborough | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 14 | 12 |
| Cardiff | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 9 | 12 |
| Hartlepool | 10 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 12 |
| Hereford | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 16 | 16 | 10 |
| Mansfield | 10 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 15 | 10 |
| Scunthorpe | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 13 | 10 |
| Bury | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 21 | 10 |
| Torquay | 10 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 13 | 10 |
| Darlington | 10 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 10 | 12 | 9 |
| Barnet | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 15 | 7 |
| Lincoln | 10 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 27 | 5 |

**BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division:** Aberdeen 3, Raith 0; Celtic 0, Rangers 2; Hibernian 2, Hearts 2; Motherwell 3, Kilmarnock 0; Partick 1, Falkirk 1.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rangers | 5 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 12 |
| Aberdeen | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 7 | 10 |
| Celtic | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 5 | 10 |
| Hibernian | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 8 | 4 | 9 |
| Motherwell | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 7 |
| Partick | 5 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Raith | 5 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 6 |
| Hearts | 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 5 |
| Falkirk | 5 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 2 |
| Kilmarnock | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 11 | 0 |

**First Division:** Airdrie 0, Hamilton 0; Clydebank 2, Dumbarton 1; Dundee 2, Dundee Utd 3; Dunfermline 2, St Johnstone 1; St Mirren 1, Greenock Morton 4. **Leading positions:** 1, Dunfermline (played 7, points 18); 2, Dundee Utd (7-13); 3, Gr Morton (7-11).

**Second Division:** Ayr 0, Stranraer 0; Forfar 0, Montrose 0; Queen of South 1, Berwick 4; Stenhousemuir 0, East Fife 1; Stirling 1, Clyde 1. **Leading positions:** 1, East Fife (7-18); 2, Berwick (7-16); 3, Forfar (7-13).

**Third Division:** Albion 3, Queen's Park 1; Brechin 1, Arbroath 1; Caledonian T 1, Ross County 1; Cowdenbeath 0, Livingston 1; East Stirling 2, Alloa 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Livingston (7-21); 2, Brechin (7-16); 3, Ross County (7-14).





Seven up . . . Eric Cantona salutes the crowd at Old Trafford after marking his return to the Premiership against Liverpool by scoring from the penalty spot PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

**Football** Premiership Manchester United 2 Liverpool 2

# Cantona back on the spot

**David Lacey at Old Trafford**

AT LEAST this time Eric Cantona hung around for the draw. In fact, he was mainly responsible for it. Second comings could be worse.

Eight months after kicking his way into footballing history with a kung-fu assault on an abusive Crystal Palace fan, Manchester United's gifted maverick returned to the muck-and-nettles of the Premiership to demonstrate, as if there had ever been any serious doubt, that his skills had survived the wilderness of the FA's ban.

On January 25, after Cantona's dismissal at Selhurst Park, his team had been held to 1-1, losing the opportunity to go top of the table at a crucial stage. On Sunday, the 2-2 draw at Old Trafford kept United in third place but denied Liverpool the opportunity to go second.

Cantona, responding immediately to a Mancunian version of Bastille Day, created a goal for Nicky Butt after 67 seconds and then saved United a point with a penalty, strongly though wrongly disputed by Liverpool, 20 minutes from the end.

On balance Liverpool would not have been flattered by their first league victory at Old Trafford in six seasons. In Robbie Fowler, who scored both their goals with distinction, they possessed the finisher supreme, and for long periods their superior passing and vision dominated the match.

In the end, for Cantona and his admirers, the occasion was neither climax nor anticlimax. Cantona himself ensured that it was remembered for something more than all the pre-match ballyhoo.

Liverpool began as if the huge significance of the afternoon was getting to them but had recovered their normal composure by the half-hour. The assured passing patterns of Redknapp, McManaman and a much-improved Thomas then took the game away from United, who until half-time were vulnerable to the penetrating runs of Harkness on the Liverpool left.

In the second half Alex Ferguson shuffled and reshuffled his formation, bringing on first Beckham and then Scholes as avoidance of defeat promised to become a belated pursuit of victory. However, Liverpool left feeling that but for two penalty decisions by David Elleray, one refused, one given, they would have won.

In the 26th minute Liverpool were one down but already getting hold of the game when Fowler burst into the area and appeared to be pushed over from behind by Bruce. One sees these given but on this occasion the referee decided otherwise.

After 70 minutes, with Liverpool now leading 2-1, Thomas lost the ball on the United right and Cantona sent Giggs through the middle with an inspired pass. Redknapp, making a stretching challenge from behind, made contact with the ball but a fraction of a second before doing so grabbed a handful of Giggs's shirt. Cantona, icily composed as ever, duly scored with the ensuing penalty, at which point the Stretford area of the city of Manchester went ever so slightly crazy.

Whatever the justice of the situation, Liverpool were entitled to be disappointed at failing to inflict United's first home league defeat of the year, especially given the strength of their recovery from the opening goal.

Butt instigated the move by feeding the ball to Cole, who then found Cantona drifting into space on the left. The Frenchman's centre eluded Giggs and Cole in the goalmouth but Butt, who had kept on running, flicked the ball past Babb before beating James as it dropped.

It was a well-worked, astutely taken goal, yet something rather better lay ahead. After 32 minutes Sharpe, set up by Cantona, shot weakly at James when he should have scored. A quick Liverpool counter-thrust followed and Fowler raced in from the left with Rush available at the far post.

Fowler, however, had already seen Rush put one dipping centre wide. He also sensed that Schmeichel was anticipating another cross and as the Danish goalkeeper leaned to the left beat him with a thunderous shot at the near post.

Seven minutes into the second half, Liverpool went ahead with another exceptional piece of opportunism from Fowler.

Renewed tests of Cantona's temperament are still to come. He was hardly tackled at all on Sunday. At the final whistle the hosannas broke out all over again. Even one of the linesmen was a Mr Messiah.

# FA acts against racism

**John Duncan**

TWO days before Eric Cantona returned to the hurly-burly of English football after eight months out of the game, the Football Association launched a new "Let's Kick Racism" campaign.

The FA also added the slightly more obscure slogan "Respect All Fans" to its armoury in the battle to make football grounds places where the new fans it is wooing can feel comfortable.

"There is an irony that the racist issue came up again because of an incident involving a white Frenchman," said the Liverpool and England player John Barnes, supporting the campaign's launch at Wembley, "but a lot of good may come out of what Eric did because it's brought home [the issue] to a lot of people.

"If Eric hadn't reacted like that, no one would have realised the abuse he was getting. You can't condone what Eric did but I'm sure there are players who have felt like doing the same thing. I bite my tongue and I don't react to it. But the problem then is that people laugh it off and say, 'Well, it can't be that serious because you don't react to it'."

The first visible sign of the campaign came at the weekend, when every Premiership match saw both teams unfurl anti-racist banners. This followed similar initiatives in Germany, where one weekend every team replaced sponsors' names with the words "My friend is a foreigner", and Italy.

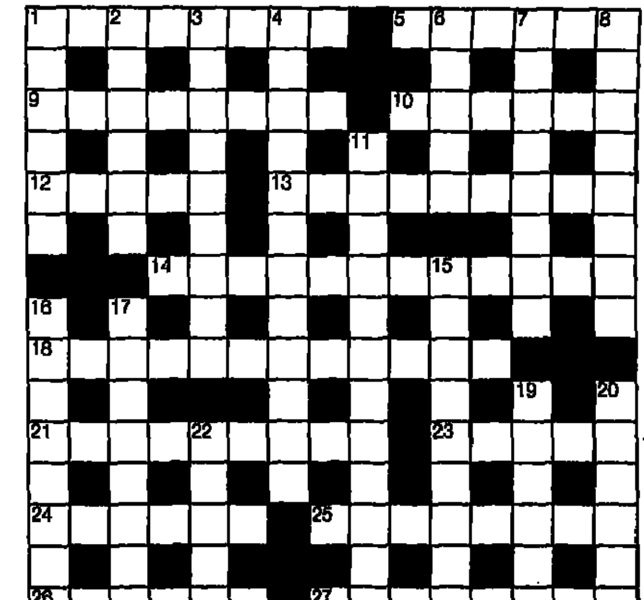
The campaign is supported by the FA, whose communications director David Davies has been the driving force, the Professional Footballers' Association, the Football Supporters' Association, the National Federation of Supporters' Clubs and the League Managers' Association.

"Some people think that [racism] has gone away," said Herman Ouseley of the Commission for Racial Equality, which for two years has run a "Kick Racism" campaign with the PFA and the Football Trust. "They've put up their banners, they've put it in the programme, they think that they have done their bit, but it hasn't gone away."

● The gulf between the number of black faces on the pitch and in the stands remains acutely embarrassing to the game even though racism may be on the wane in football.

Less than 2 cent of supporters described themselves as "non-white" in a survey recently conducted by the Premiership, whereas more than 25 per cent of the members of the Professional Footballers' Association are black.

# Cryptic crossword by Shed

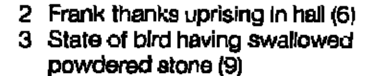


**Across**

1 David and Saul originally received by seer (8)
5 Unfortunate servicemen in wagon sent back (6)
9 French horn performing a track attack (8)
10 Basic qualification to hold paddle (6)
12 Escape craftily from railroad due to be demolished (5)
13 Large drinks keep team leader to the point, for sure (9)
14 Getting better drinks — first class — in retreat (12)
18 Set out in rain to induce renewal (12)
21 Security plate about to be . . . (9)
23 . . . cut from Times editorial (leader) (5)
24 Died, dead, being slightly squashed (6)
25 Gershwin, returning, is embraced by a senior lady of the land (8)
26 Worthless bearer keeping quiet (6)
27 Fish fit for London district (8)

**Down**

1 Favourite to receive half of gun and make massive profit (6)



2 Frank thanks uprising in hall (6)
3 State of bird having swallowed powdered stone (9)
4 One game's up — many-splendoured love's lost — it's a fiddle! (12)
6 Decline engulfing large place of residence (5)
7 Frenchman with unorthodox dressing-up — as a groundsman (8)
8 Indian full of love, having drunk preserving fluid (8)
11 Sated? Might be the high alcohol content (4,8)
15 Medic's holding competitor up to see proof of result (5,4)
16 Animal — majority destined for the devil? (8)
17 Herb-grower getting phone call in Asia, perhaps (8)
19 Local model wearing green (6)
20 Heart of sailors in boat (6)
22 Score anywhere but Switzerland! (5)

**Last week's solution**

RIPOSTE HOTSPUR
O A T P A O O E
SERMONSINSTONES
E T R O D A T T
BAHAI MISALLIED
U E E D F A
DONATELLO JOELY
O T O W E X
EAGLE IGNORAMUS
N E N U A T
DININGCAR SIXER
O I A L E A I T
WISDOMOFSOLOMON
E I M T I E U G
DISTICH NEMESIS

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